

# Newsweek

February 18, 1991 : \$2.50

**INSIDE**  
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**WEAPONS OF WAR**

F-117A Stealth

## THE NEW SCIENCE OF WAR

**High-Tech Hardware:  
How Many Lives Can It Save?**  
**Countdown to a Ground Strike**



A scenic view of a beach with a sailboat, palm trees, and a train in the background. The sailboat has a rainbow-colored sail and is on the water. The train is white with a red stripe and is on an elevated track. The beach is sandy and has several palm trees. The water is blue and has some whitecaps.

# How to spend a Disney winter.

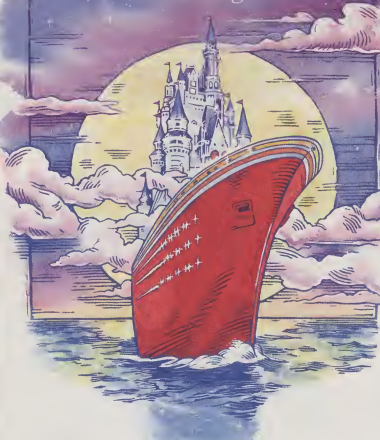
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Photograph by Lori Peek, Park City, Utah.



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A group of people are riding a roller coaster, likely the Seven Dwarfs Mine Train at Magic Kingdom. They are all smiling and looking forward, with some wearing Mickey Mouse ears. The background features a desert-like landscape with large, jagged rock formations under a clear blue sky. The roller coaster track is visible in the foreground, and the people are seated in orange and black cars.

Don't go out without your hat.

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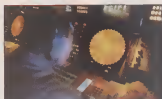


The battleship USS Wisconsin pounds Iraqi coastal positions in Kuwait

## 'Good to Go'

### THE WAR DESERT STORM

Not if, but when: that was the question last week as the allied coalition planned for ground action to liberate Kuwait. Despite official optimism, the bombing campaign to soften up Iraqi forces was falling behind schedule, and the margin for delay in the ground campaign was decreasing. **Page 26**



Radar on the USS Valley Forge

The high-tech war is actually a marriage of old and new technology, from the multiple guidance systems of the Tomahawk cruise missile to the reinforced skin and new computers on the B-52 bomber. Five stories deal with the promise—and the limitations—of the new science of warfare. **Page 38**

### THE WAR DEADLY SCIENCE

### THE WAR HOME FRONT

For young Americans who came of age after the end of the Vietnam War, the fighting in the gulf has been a profound psychic shock. They have watched friends go to war, and they worry about the possibility of a draft. But for all the speculation, it is highly unlikely that the government will revive conscription any time soon. **Page 50**

### ■ Mr. Perfect vs. the Preacher

On April 19, in Atlantic City, a 42-year-old overweight minister named George Foreman aims to reclaim the heavyweight crown. His broad-shouldered opponent, Evander Holyfield, is, at 28, a force to reckon with. He also serves as a reminder that perfection is a bit boring. **Lifestyle: Page 66**



Foreman (left) fights Adilson Rodrigues

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### THE WAR

## Desert Storm

- The ground attack: not if—but when 26
- Faceoff in the desert, by Col. David H. Hackworth 31
- "Not our war": discontent in Iraq 32
- Jordan: jitters on the western front 34
- A tide of terrorism 35
- Four ways the war could end 38

### THE WAR

## Deadly Science

- The new science of war (the cover) 38
- The cruise missile: techno-marvel of the Arms and the men; a pullout reader's guide to the war 42A
- The might and myth of the B-52 46
- In Vietnam: remembering "the terror" 48
- A skeptic's view of "wonder weapons" 49

### THE WAR

## Home Front

- The twentysomething generation grapples with war 50
- Why there won't be another draft 51

## National Affairs

- Is Bush's economic team up to it? 53
- A slow fix for the banks, by Robert J. Samuelson 55
- California's long, dry winter 56
- New market for a lethal drug 58

## The Arts

- Books: A guide to the gulf 61
- Art: Paint misty for me 63
- Movies: Of cannibals and kinks 64
- In pursuit of Julia Roberts

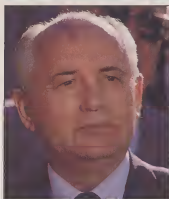
## Lifestyle

- Sports: Puncher vs. preacher 66
- Medicine: A detour to the sperm bank 71
- Mind: Sorrows of Werner 72
- Movies: A new kind of scarlet letter 75
- Family: Was he really Bruno Borroheim? 75

## Departments

- Periscope 10
- My Turn 16
- Letters 18
- Perspectives 23
- Newsmakers 65
- Transition 85
- Meg Greenfield 76

Cover: Photo by Randy Jolly.



Hedging bets? Mikhail Gorbachev and Iranian President Rafsanjani

EXCLUSIVE

## Iran: A New Relationship

**N**EWSEEEK has learned that Iran and the Soviet Union have begun to forge a closer military partnership. After Ayatollah Khomeini overthrew the shah in 1979, Tehran singled out Moscow as one of its imperialist enemies. Relations remained strained for years. But sources say that on Jan. 3, at least 50 Iranian military officers began training at a naval base in the Baltic coast city of Riga, Latvia, site of recent unrest between independence-minded Latvians and Soviet troops. The Iranian officers were instructed on how to handle, among other things, submarines and defensive patrol boats. Their arrival came despite the fact that the Latvian parliament had re-

cently protested the presence of a previous group of Iraqi officers in Riga. Those officers returned to Iraq in November. The likeliest reason for this sudden cooperation between the two countries is that both are hedging bets on alignments once the Persian Gulf War is over.

Soviet naval officials have refused to reveal any details about how long the Iranians will stay in Latvia. But one telling fact suggests the officers will remain in the country for quite some time: on Jan. 18, the officers' wives and children arrived in Riga on Iranian Air Force planes.

POLITICS

## Massaging the Process

**D**emocratic National Chairman Ron Brown doesn't have any candidates yet, but he's already shaping a major role for himself in the upcoming presidential campaign. Brown is telling friends that he plans to "massage the process" in '92. Instead of staying neutral, he says, he'll encourage candidates to drop out of the race if he feels that they're hurting party unity. Whom does Brown have in mind? Jesse Jackson, suspecting that Brown is thinking of his candidacy, has called Brown several times to complain bitterly. Whomever Brown is referring to, friends say that he has limited influence over Jackson. Brown was Jackson's 1988 convention manager.



A major campaign role? Brown

WASHINGTON FAX

## Exaggerated?

**A**re the allies exaggerating the size of the Persian Gulf oil slick to heighten charges of ecoterrorism? The French Center for Documentation, Research and Experimentation on Accidental Water Pollution says video taken from a Soviet space station shows the slick is half as large as the Pentagon claims. It says the video also indicates Saddam Hussein did not spill oil into the sea a second time, as the United States has charged. Washington officials stand by their original assessments about the spill.

KIDS\*

## Will Vanna Run?

**P**resident Bush seems to have a few problems with the thumb-sucking lobby. A Playskool poll of preschoolers in five American cities has concluded that, while 55 percent know Bush is president, 15 percent think our commander in chief is George Washington. There is also evidence that Bush may have an image problem with some in this interest group: 11 percent think he lives at home with his parents. And when asked what famous person should next be president, 45 percent of the kids said not Dan Quayle, not Colin Powell but... Mr. Rogers. Runners-up included Janet Jackson, Arnold Schwarzenegger and Vanna White.



CONVENTIONAL WISDOM WATCH

## Home-Front Edition

**T**he CW on the ground war is that it's unfortunately necessary but should be delayed a few weeks longer. Whatever Bush decides, the CW will second-guess him.

PLAYERS

Conventional Wisdom

George Bush



The "Education President"? But we didn't know it was Mideast geography.

Dick Gephardt



Blasts Bush for ignoring domestic agenda. But CW is ignoring him.

Dick Darman



Old CW: Butchers budget deal. New CW: Outfoxes Dems on fairness issue.

Al Simpson



Kissed Saddam's behind in April, covers his own by kicking Peter Arnett's now.

Univ. of Md.



Officials bar U.S. flag displays as politically incorrect. How very educational.

Ramsey Clark



Former A.G. Is this war's Jane Fonda. Hey, pal, the '60s are over.

MEDIA

**O**ut of bounds: Wyoming Sen. Alan Simpson, for his unsubstantiated claim that CNN correspondent Peter Arnett is an Iraqi "sympathizer." Arnett is the only American correspondent in Baghdad. Simpson has not always been so anti-Iraq. Before the war, he told Saddam Hussein the U.S. media were to blame for Saddam's image problems. Simpson also said Arnett favored the enemy in his Pulitzer Prize-winning coverage of Vietnam. And, he said, an Arnett relative was "active in the Viet Cong." Arnett's family and colleagues deny each allegation.



# P

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## SCENARIO

## Will Quayle Be Dumped?

Political cartoonists, often an early warning sign of things to come, are raising the possibility. The Hotline, Washington's political-intelligence service, is speculating about it. Buttons have blossomed in parts of the nation promoting it. But is it plausible to think that George Bush might dump Vice Presidential Dan Quayle for Gen. Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff?

At this point, the conventional wisdom is that it won't happen. Republican insiders cite Bush's loyalty and argue that those in the GOP who may have designs on the presi-



Will the general get a new assignment? Powell, the vice president

dency in '96, notably Secretary of State James Baker, actually prefer a weak vice president. "They don't want anyone getting a head start," said one insider. Conservatives, who privately say Quayle is a weak reed, still consider him their reed.

Still, political Washington loves scenarios. Fueling the Powell-for-Quayle talk is the presence the general has established during the gulf war. In



his TV briefings he comes off as bright, witty and presidential. At the same time, polls show the public thinks Quayle is a lightweight and would not trust him to run the gulf effort. For the scenario to work, the war would have to be brought to an early and highly successful conclusion with Powell viewed as a hero. Then, if Bush's popularity starts to erode because of a worsening economy and other domestic

problems, the president might turn to Powell to remove the "Quayle drag" from the '92 ticket. Political strategists say Powell would likely run well in big industrial states, with their large black populations, and on the West Coast.

But how could Quayle be fished? The key to such a move is to get him to volunteer, says Frank Mankiewicz, who helped engineer Sen. Tom Eagleton's removal from the '72 Democratic ticket. "You tell him, 'If you don't do this and we lose the White House, you'll be the party's villain for a hundred years,'" says Mankiewicz. A face-saving job would have to be offered and removal made well before the '92 convention, lest it look panicky.

But remember, scenario enthusiasts, Powell still has a ground war to fight.



Heavy blinker: Saddam on TV

## NERVES

## Don't Blink!

In war, the first one to blink loses. That theory has now been expanded by Boston College neuropsychologist Joe Tecce, who claims he can tell how stressed a person is by how often the person blinks. By that measure, Tecce says, Saddam Hussein is the most tense player in the gulf war. Saddam blinked as often as 113 times per minute in his recent CNN interview with Peter Arnett. A "normal" blink rate for someone speaking on camera, Tecce says, is 30 to 50 bpm; more than 50 is "high." François Mitterrand hit 100 bpm at one point. By contrast, George Bush, while discussing the bombing of Iraqi soldiers at a press conference last week, hit 69 bpm—high but not frantic.

## VITAL STATISTICS

## Media: A Wartime Turnaround

While the profits of media companies are slipping, their stock prices are going up. A major reason: some optimistic money managers are betting that the gulf war will end relatively soon—and that a quick economic turnaround will follow. The past may be an imperfect guide, but historically, media stocks have been some of the fastest to rebound when hard times end.

MEDIA STOCK	STOCK PRICE AT CLOSE FEB. 8	PERCENT INCREASE SINCE JAN. 16
Time Warner	98	17%
Capital Cities/ABC	461 3/4	11%
Washington Post Company	238 1/2	20%
The New York Times	24 1/4	19%
Turner Broadcasting (CNN)	15 3/4	21%

## HARDWARE

## A Valentine?

Stumped on an interesting Valentine's gift? For between \$500,000 and \$700,000, the Soviet Air Force will sell you a Soviet MiG-21 fighter plane. The Soviets are selling off the outdated aircraft to finance the upgrading of their Air Force and have made 20 cold-war-era MiGs available to a Denver airplane-brokerage firm. So far the company has had a handful of nibbles from

potential buyers, says Stan Underwood of Wings of Denver Aircraft Sales, who says the one-seat aircraft have a certain "mystique" about them. And, he adds, "there's not really a danger of them being shot down."

LUCY HOWARD and NED ZEMAN  
with bureau reports

### For sale: Soviet MiG



## BUZZWORDS

Here's an update on how the troops in the gulf are talking:

**Ninja women:** Black-veiled Saudi females.

**Hooh!** An all-purpose yell, the meaning of which is impressive.

Used to greet good news, such as mail call.

**KSA:** Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

**Not a problem and I'll make it happen:** Standard replies by GIs to those they salute. The equivalent of the World War II "Can do," and much more upbeat than the Vietnam "Sounds like a personal problem to me."

**For the duration:** Used instead of the Vietnam era DEROs (date of estimated return from overseas). Since the troops are not being rotated, as in Vietnam, there is no DEROs.

**Cold, cold smoked the bitch:** Said by a pilot when he shoots down an Iraqi plane.

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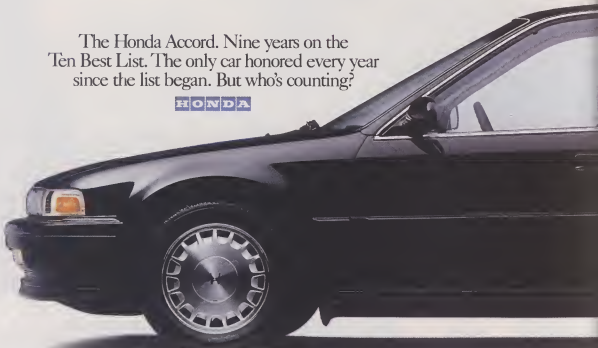
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# The year

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s add up.



# Should We Kill Saddam?

BY ERIC L. CHASE

**M**oral and political questions aside, international law leaves Saddam Hussein a legitimate military target. Thus, the decision to pursue him becomes one of discretion, not legality. In wartime, killing people is the historical function of the military in accomplishing its mission. And killing in war is legal. Over the centuries, the community of nations has developed a body of law referred to generally as the "law of war." Combatants in hostilities are obligated to abide by the law of war, and they are protected by it, as in the case of POWs, who have substantial rights under the Geneva Conventions of 1949. So, too, does the law protect civilians who are not involved in the fighting.

The law gives license to belligerents to shoot and bomb each other with legal impunity. When a legitimate combatant (i.e., a member of the military within a chain of command, who wears a uniform with rank insignia and carries arms openly) slays his foe, he is not committing a crime. His lethal activity is neither "assassination" nor "murder," nor is it an offense to the customary and codified rules of international law. In short, all enemy combat-

ants are lawful "targets," including commanders in chief.

The president of Iraq is the uniformed commander of all Iraqi forces, as well as a head of state. As the No. 1 military man in Iraq, he is, in military jargon, the most "lucrative" of targets for the allied coalition in the Gulf War. It could be argued that his death or capture would bring the Iraqi defiance of U.N. mandates to a stunning and abrupt halt. At a minimum, Saddam's removal from the scene would disable his country's command structure.

President Bush and others have said the coalition has not singled out the enemy's commander as an assigned target. In Mr. Bush's words, "We're not in the business of targeting Saddam Hussein," but "no one will weep when he's gone." And as recently as last week at a news conference the president made the point again, saying, "There would be no sorrow if he's not there." Defense officials have said they would be pleased if Saddam happened to be in the vicinity of an exploding bomb directed at an appropriately anonymous objective, like a command-and-communications bunker.

Perhaps all this fastidious language about how Saddam might be killed serves some political ends. The explicit targeting of an individual combatant, no matter how venal that individual appears to be, could offend the American public's sense of morality. Or, some of the allies might still hope that Saddam's survival will actually further a post-war return to normality. Or, as a number of observers have already suggested, his death could trigger long-term destabilization, revolution or a greater war throughout the Gulf region. But, given the environmental catastrophe, i.e., the poisoning of the Gulf, the administration could reach a political determination that the targeting of Saddam is

# WHO SCORES 95% IN POLICYHOLDER SATISFACTION?



now appropriate. Even before the onset of "environmental terrorism," the president admonished Iraq repeatedly about the specter of war-crimes trials, which of course, likely would end with the execution of Saddam. The Army recently announced the mobilization of reserve war-crimes investigation units. Meanwhile, a parade of spokespersons has wished out loud for Saddam's demise. But the United States does not have to wait for a trial. From a legal point of view, there is no difference in bombing the Republican Guard and aiming for its leader; and targeting Saddam would be consistent with the U.N. resolutions.

**We're at war:** But there seems to be substantial confusion about going after Saddam. Last month, Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney turned aside a question about targeting Saddam and voiced a general distaste for "assassination."

The preoccupation with assassination stems from President Reagan's Executive Order 12333, which reiterated the U.S. policy against the practice of assassinating foreign nationals in covert operations. According to a 1989 government opinion, the order does not apply to the attack of enemy military officers in time of war. We're at war now. The law says that Saddam Hussein, commander in chief of all Iraqi forces, is a legitimate target for any form of military action his enemy elects to take, whether he is killed on the battlefield or in

his bathtub. As the Senate Intelligence Committee staff concluded last month, "When you are dealing with someone who's wearing a military uniform and is the commander of the other side's forces, you can kill him during a war and that's not assassination."

In fact, American forces and U.S. allies have targeted high-ranking enemies before. The ambush by Army Air Force pilots of Japanese Combined Fleet Adm. Isoroku Yamamoto (the architect of the Pearl Harbor raid) on

April 18, 1943, offers a useful precedent. After the Navy intercepted and decoded a message indicating Yamamoto's flight plan, the Air Force launched P-38 aircraft to intercept and shoot down the admiral. This successful mission, against a named individual, was well within the bounds of the law of war. Likewise, the unsuccessful Nov. 18, 1941, British commando

raid against Field Marshal Erwin Rommel's Libyan headquarters was lawful. A decision to order a specific mission against Saddam would be consistent with international law. And, as Iraq's violations of all applicable conventions mount, the arguments to do so become more compelling.

*Chase, a lawyer in private practice in New Jersey and a colonel in the Marine Corps Reserve, teaches the law of war at the Marine Corps University in Quantico, Va.*



**It is within the legal rights of the United States to go after the Iraqi dictator**



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**'This Hideous War'**

Democratic strategists shouldn't be as glum as you say they are about the '92 presidential campaign ("Early Losers," PERISCOPE, Jan. 28). Don't mistake support for the troops for support of Bush's policy. I fly my flag for my son-in-law who is hunkered down in the sand with the Second Marine Division in Saudi Arabia—not in support of the idiots who got us into this mess.

BELINDA M. ROLLENS  
Charleston, Tenn.

• • •

Kudos to NEWSWEEK for tempering the glamour of high-tech warfare by portraying the barbarity, death and destruction this war will continue to cause.

RONALD C. WEINGRAD  
Pittsburgh, Pa.

• • •

Thanks for your article "Caught in a Cross-fire" (LOOKING AHEAD, Jan. 28), the only mention I've seen in the press of the Palestinians' plight. It addresses all the questions Americans—without any help, apparently, from Washington—have been left to ponder. In fact, your poll reporting that 80 percent of Americans support a "comprehensive Mideast peace confer-

## MAIL CALL

**Media Watch**

Since the Persian Gulf War began, scores of readers have voiced strong opinions about the role of the media in reporting the conflict. Many are concerned about the restrictions that various governments involved in the conflict are placing on media coverage of the war, while others are critical of the media itself. Wrote one: "The only lesson this administration has learned from Vietnam is to curtail as much information as it can" in order to keep the public "ignorant." Others directed their criticism at the media's performance: "It's disgusting that the news media cravenly tuck in their tails and support the government's lies," said one reader. Another commented that certain TV correspondents looked as if they were working "on the war's first on-camera nervous breakdowns." Yet another reader accused the press of whining: "So they have to wait a few hours for a briefing—tough cookies."

ence" makes me wish we had pursued such talks before initiating the folly, agony and expense of this hideous war.

ANN LIEM  
Southbury, Conn.

• • •

I was struck by Col. David Hackworth's comparison of Iraqi ground forces to the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese Army, who were also subjected to pounding from American B-52s ("Mismatch in Kuwait," DESERT STORM, Jan. 28). As he describes Dak To and the efficacy of those heavy bombers, however, I am reminded that those Viet Cong who Hackworth says had "no fight left" persisted and outlasted our patience.

WAYNE HOOKS  
Nichols, S.C.

• • •

Nothing in your wide-ranging Jan. 28 issue was more crucial than Henry Kissinger's call for a postwar "agreement on economic and social development... to defuse the argument that this is a conflict of rich against poor" ("A Postwar Agenda," LOOKING AHEAD). At least somebody realizes that Third World countries with poor living standards pose a threat to global stability. If the Arabs in the gulf would share more of their wealth with poorer neighbors



like Yemen, Egypt and Morocco, the appeal of radical agitators would surely diminish. Likewise, if we industrial countries would do more toward closing the gap between us and the less industrialized countries of Africa and Latin America, there might be less tinder for future conflagrations.

ERNEST A. LANDY  
Orinda, Calif.

• • •

For all his geopolitical brilliance, Kissinger has never understood the dynamics of suppressed peoples. His notion of a settlement worked out by the United States, Israel and the "moderate" Arab states gives no voice to the frustrated Arabs at the bottom—those for whom the "radical Arabs" speak. The question of justice aside, any policy that treats them as powerless is unpragmatic and impolitic.

THERON F. SCHLABACH  
Goshen, Ind.

• • •

By airing news reports approved by Baghdad ("When CNN Hit Its Target," HOME FRONT, Jan. 28), CNN is no longer operating as a news organization but as a propaganda apparatus of an enemy nation.

MICHAEL LEE  
Salinas, Calif.

CNN's excellent coverage of the gulf war is due not only to its contacts, but to the professionalism of its reporters. On the networks, "cutesy" reporting and the personalities of Jennings, Brokaw and Rather appear to be more important than the news.

JOAN PREZIOSO  
Red Bank, N.J.

## An American Agency

Your Editor's Note (BYLINES, Feb. 11) mistakenly identified Sygma Photo News, Inc., as a "French photo agency." Sygma is in fact American; since 1973 it has been located and incorporated in New York.

ELIANE LAFFONT, President  
Sygma Photo News  
New York, N.Y.

## Out in the Cold

"Under Cover, in the Closet" (NATIONAL AFFAIRS, Jan. 14), which noted that the FBI and CIA view gay agents as a threat to national security, struck very close to home. I'm currently being disenrolled from Army ROTC because the Department of Defense became aware that I'm gay. Though I received my commission as a second lieutenant in May, the Army has reduced my status to cadet due to my "disqualifying factor,"

which it discovered because I was completely honest during my background investigation last summer. I thought that honesty and integrity were qualities the service value, but unless they revoke their policy, I will see my ROTC training and planned career in military intelligence vanish.

JOHN S. SNYDER III  
Bowling Green, Ohio

• • •

I can only shake my head in wonder at the intelligence agencies' myopic policy of discharging gay personnel solely for their sexual orientation. This policy is largely what makes gays vulnerable to blackmail—and therefore more of a "security risk"—than heterosexuals. If coming out of the closet did not have such destructive consequences, homosexuals in the service of our country would be no more susceptible to blackmail than anyone else! Are the agencies too homophobic to stop the cycle?

CINDY R. SLANE  
Easton, Conn.

Letters to the Editor, with the writer's name and address and daytime phone number, should be sent to: Letters Editor, Newsweek, 444 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022 or faxed to: (212) 350-4120. Letters may be edited for reasons of space and clarity.



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\*See brief summary of Prescribing Information on next page.





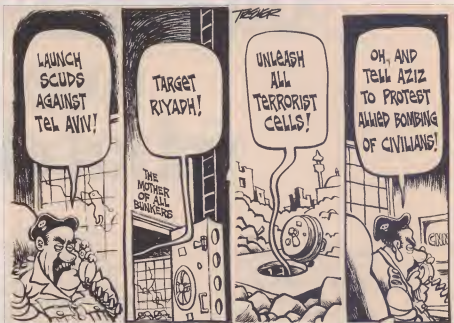
## Overheard

**Y**ou have to have larceny in your heart. Most people go to prison for this. I get promoted."

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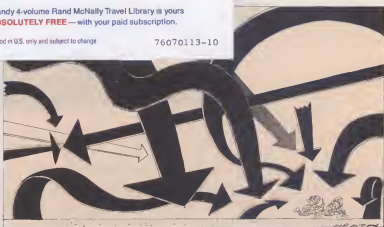
VESTHEIMER, during a visit  
Israel, on how to have good sex  
in an air-raid shelter

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not be tolerated."  
ly Speaker WILLIE BROWN,  
has banished the news media  
ear of the Assembly chambers

Director OLIVER STONE, on now ne one emulated  
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**BRIEF SUMMARY:** (FOR FULL PRESCRIBING INFORMATION, SEE PACKAGE INSERT.)

Gallbladder stone dissolution with Actigall treatment requires months of therapy. Complete dissolution does not occur in all patients and recurrence of stones within 5 years has been observed in up to 50% of patients who do dissolve their stones on bile acid therapy. Patients should be carefully selected for therapy with ursodiol, and alternative therapies should be considered.

Watchful waiting has the advantage that no therapy may ever be required. For patients with silent or minimally symptomatic stones, the rate of development of moderate to severe symptoms or gallstone complications is estimated to be between 2% and 6% per year, leading to a cumulative rate of 7% to 27% in five years. Presumably the rate is higher for patients already having symptoms.

Surgery offers the advantage of immediate and permanent stone removal, but carries a high risk in some patients. About 5% of cholecystectomized patients have residual symptomatic duct stones. The spectrum of surgical risk of age and the presence of disease other than

Actigall is indicated for patients with radiopaque gallbladder stones <20 mm in greatest diameter. Cholecystectomy would be undertaken except in the presence of increased surgical risk due to systemic disease, a known idiosyncratic reaction to general anesthesia, or refusal of surgery. Safety of use of Actigall not established.

1. Actigall will not dissolve calcified choleliths or radiolucent bile pigment stones. Patients with such stones are not candidates for therapy.

2. Patients with compelling reasons for unremitting acute cholecystitis, cholangitis, gallstone pancreatitis or biliary-gastrointestinal candidates for Actigall therapy.
3. Allergy to bile acids.

Ursodiol therapy has not been associated with cholic acid, a naturally occurring bile acid, is a toxic metabolite. This bile acid is formed in the liver efficiently and in smaller amounts than lithocholic acid. Lithocholic acid is detoxified in the liver, although man appears to be an efficient seconjugator. Some patients may have a congenital defect in sulfation, thereby predisposing them to liver damage.

Abnormalities in liver enzymes have not been reported with Actigall therapy and in fact Actigall has been shown to maintain normal enzyme levels in liver disease. However, patients should have SGOT (AST) and SGPT (ALT) measured before initiation of therapy and thereafter as indicated by the clinical circumstances.

Bile acid sequestering agents such as cholestyramine and colestipol may interfere with the action of Actigall by reducing its absorption. Aluminum-based antacids have been shown to adsorb bile acids *in vitro* and may be expected to interfere with Actigall in the same manner as the bile acid sequestering agents. Estrogens, oral contraceptives and clobazepam (and perhaps other lipid-lowering drugs) increase hepatic cholesterol secretion, and encourage cholesterol gallstone formation and hence may counteract the effectiveness of Actigall.

Carcinogenicity studies with Actigall in animals are in progress. A 78-week rat study employing intrarectal instillation of lithocholic acid and tauro-deoxycholic acid, metabolites of ursodiol and

Reproduction studies have been performed in rats and rabbits with ursodiol doses up to 200-fold the therapeutic dose and have revealed no evidence of impaired fertility or harm to the fetuses of 20- to 100-fold the human dose in rats and at 5-fold the human dose (highest dose tested) in rabbits. Studies employing 100- to 200-fold the human dose in rats have shown some reduction in fertility rate and litter size. There have been no adequate and well-controlled studies of the use of ursodiol in pregnant women, but inadvertent exposure of 4 women to therapeutic doses of the drug in the first trimester of pregnancy during the Actigall trials led to no evidence of effects on the fetus or newborn babies. Although it seems unlikely, the possibility that ursodiol can cause fetal harm cannot be ruled out; hence, the drug is not recommended for use during pregnancy.

It is not known whether ursodiol is excreted in human milk. Because many drugs are excreted in human milk, caution should be exercised when Actiall is administered to a nursing mother.

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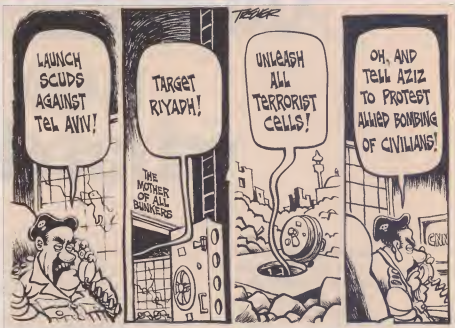
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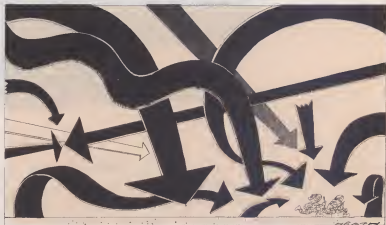
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**I** believed in Morrison's incantation. Break on through. Kill the pigs. Destroy. Loot... All that s-t. Anything goes. Anything. I tried anything in that state."

*Director OLIVER STONE, on how he once emulated legendary rocker and drug user Jim Morrison, subject of Stone's upcoming film "The Doors"*

**T**here's something very strange about men of gigantic power. There's also something very, very female about them. I mean, nothing is more camp than the Third Reich."

*Actor ANTHONY HOPKINS, on playing such characters as Adolf Hitler*



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*'Let's get outta here, it's a graphics attack!'*



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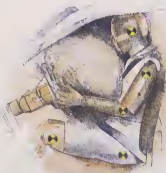
And this year, with our new aerodynamic styling and redesigned interiors...it's true again. Especially in new

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A full-page photograph of a soldier in desert camouflage running through a sandy, hilly landscape. The soldier is wearing a helmet and carrying a rifle. The background shows rolling sand dunes under a clear sky.

**Newsweek**

# 'GOOD TO GO'

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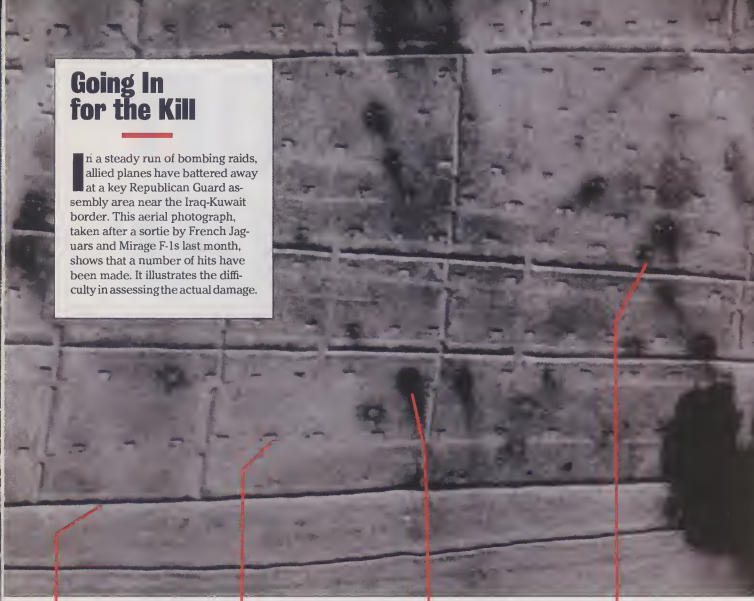
**The gulf coalition considers  
its options for the long-  
awaited ground campaign**

---

CHRISTOPHER MORRIS—DOD BOUL

## Going In for the Kill

In a steady run of bombing raids, allied planes have battered away at a key Republican Guard assembly area near the Iraq-Kuwait border. This aerial photograph, taken after a sortie by French Jaguars and Mirage F-1s last month, shows that a number of hits have been made. It illustrates the difficulty in assessing the actual damage.



To protect their tanks, the Iraqis have built a network of berms—12-foot walls of sand.

Tanks are buried in the sand; the turrets, protected by sandbags, remain aboveground.

A smoke ring around an apparent crater probably signifies an internal explosion—a hit.

Small smoke spots are hard to assess. A partial hit? Or a burning oil drum lit as a decoy?

There are three crucial questions confronting George Bush this week. The first is: how effective is the allied bombing campaign against Saddam Hussein's military machine? The second is: how do we know whether the bombing has been effective or not? And the third is how to open the long-awaited ground attack against Iraqi forces. NEWSWEEK has learned that the Bush administration and its British and French allies are now contemplating not one ground offensive but two: the first would be a limited action aimed at drawing Iraqi Republican Guard units out of their fortified positions astride the Iraq-Kuwait border. If the tactic is approved, it would be a major change in allied plans for the gulf war. "It may well be that one way to make the air campaign more

effective is to add other elements," Defense Secretary Dick Cheney told reporters on his plane bound for Saudi Arabia last week.

This shift reflects a behind-the-scenes debate over bomb-damage assessments, or BDAs. BDAs are primarily based on the interpretation of photographs, such as the one on this page, taken by spy satellites or reconnaissance aircraft. The photos show Iraqi tanks, bunkers, troop formations and other military equipment before and after allied bombing raids. By looking for explosions, craters and other signs of damage, a skilled interpreter can make an educated guess about the losses inflicted on an Iraqi unit—from which its combat effectiveness can be estimated. While BDAs are routinely conducted after any allied strike, Bush and his advisers are intensely concerned about those depicting the condition of the

eight Republican Guard divisions in Iraq and Kuwait (map, page 30). The Guard is by far the most capable force in the Iraqi Army, and it is the cornerstone of Saddam Hussein's defense of Kuwait.

Allied planes have already targeted the Republican Guard's bunkers and staging areas many times, and the bombing campaign against those hardened targets is apparently being stepped up. But U.S. officials say there are sharply differing BDAs from different analysts in the intelligence community—among the military's own photo interpreters, both in Washington and in Saudi Arabia, and from analysts in agencies like the CIA. The most pessimistic estimate, according to NEWSWEEK sources, holds that the Republican Guard's combat effectiveness has been "degraded" by only about 5 percent—which means that the



THIRRY ORBAN—SYGMA

**Black cloud appears to be from an earlier raid, perhaps on an ammunition dump.**

**Vertical enclaves protect other vehicles, perhaps tank transports and fuel tankers.**

**Billowing smoke that obscures the target area is from a fresh hit of cluster bombs.**

**Trucks, more vulnerable to bomb blasts, are buried in tight, irregular enclaves.**

Guard, sheltered by elaborate bunkers and fortifications, is unquestionably capable of ferocious resistance if and when the ground war begins. The most optimistic estimate, on the other hand, holds that the combination of casualties and equipment losses has cost the Guard up to about 25 percent of its former combat effectiveness.

But the 25 percent estimate is still well below the expectations of allied strategists. U.S. Air Force planners predicted that bombing would reduce the Republican Guard's combat effectiveness by 50 percent. Achieving that goal was planned as an essential preliminary to any ground attack. American military briefers, who have been telling the press and public that the air war is going well, have offered two ex-

## THE WAR DESERT STORM

planations for the lag in the air campaign's schedule. One is the weather, which obscured vital targets inside Iraq during the first days of the war. The other is the hunt for Scud missiles, which diverted allied planes from previously assigned targets. A third explanation surfaced last week: the Republican Guard, it appears, did a much better job of concealing, sheltering and dispersing its men and equipment than U.S. planners had thought. Indeed, its radio communications both within the ranks and with Baghdad still exhibit unbroken military discipline.

The BDA debate is partly a result of the Iraqi success in building a mammoth system of fortifications in the desert. All told, the eight Guard divisions total some

150,000 troops, together with their tanks and artillery, scattered over an area roughly the size of Rhode Island. What has stunned allied planners is the number of decoys: there are hundreds and perhaps thousands of dummy tanks, as well as dummy trucks, dummy bunkers and empty foxholes. Bombing them all, including the decoys, is arguably impossible within any reasonable time frame for Operation Desert Storm. There is also plenty of room for doubt about the results of allied bombing on genuine targets. According to one administration official, intelligence analysts are arguing about the effectiveness of U.S. cluster bombs. Although aerial photos show many Iraqi tanks have been damaged by cluster bombs, some analysts believe the damaged tanks are still operable, while others score them as "kills." "There is an





# The Faceoff in the Desert

'The only way we're going to get home from this is through Iraq'

BY COL. DAVID H. HACKWORTH

**L**ike an arrow drawn back in a giant bow, the forces arrayed against Saddam Hussein are ready for the gulf war's second phase. After spending much of last week on the front lines in the western sector of the allied front, I'm sure the troops are "good to go," as they say in the field. And I feel the pressure mounting. The fever of the troops suggests that ground forces will be inside Iraq by the end of this month. I still think that's too soon. I don't see a lot of generals here, but midrank officers are asking what the hurry is.

I hear several explanations: the onset of the Muslims' holy month of Ramadan; the desert sandstorms the troopers call "brownouts." I was caught in one near the border last week. One minute the air was clear, the next minute it was on us. Everything disappeared in the brown, choking blanket of dust. I couldn't see my hand in front of me, and when the sand and dust finally settled, we could see a number of accidents along the road, with soldiers injured and several civilians killed. But brownouts favor neither side.

The third reason for the rush to action is the ambition of Pentagon greenkeepers. They favor a land-battle plan popularly known as the "haul ass and bypass" theory of modern war: aided by air, the Army rushes forward, avoiding head-to-head conflict but moving swiftly to destroy logistics and knock out command and control. When this is done, the enemy is simply bagged up. It's a concept made popular by George Patton during World War II.

Whichever way the land war goes, the men in the front line are going to pay the hard price. I was with the 37th Battalion of the 20th Airborne Engineer Brigade of the XVIII Corps last week. They'll be the sappers, doing a job they might have done on the western front in World War I: building roads, clearing obstacles, cutting through enemy minefields and frequently fighting as infantry. The only difference is that today they build airstrips, too. They are the

Army's spearhead. As their commanding officer, Lt. Col. Robert Holcomb, a fourth-generation West Pointer, put it: "We cut the hole and the Army drives through it."

It's a curious kind of work. You do a peaceful job like building a road—but all too often you do it under fire. Last week five rounds of Iraqi artillery fire crunched into the 37th Battalion west of Hafr al-Batin as they cut a road northward. The combat

diesel oil to make it compact and to keep the dust down. It took just three days to cut this strip, which the colonel's modern version of the jeep, the Humvee, zoomed over at 25 miles an hour.

There was no one in front of these combat engineers but Iraqi soldiers. So far this war has produced two kinds of hero, the airmen and the Scud-busting Patriot missile gunners. They belong to the new breed of space-age fighters that have dominated the open-

## THE WAR DESERT STORM



General Powell, Joint Chiefs chairman, with General Schwarzkopf in Saudi Arabia

engineers ignored the incoming rounds, as they also ignored warnings of nearby Iraqi patrols—leaving that problem to their paratroop comrades strung out in the sand around them on lookout.

**Flat rocks:** The two-lane desert road, named MSR [Main Supply Route] Eagle, is 30 miles long and growing. It has been cut out of what the troops call the "stony desert," a nasty expanse of concrete-hard sand, covered with razorlike flat rocks that slash tires to ribbons and cut bulldozer blades as though they were made of wet cardboard. When it is finished, MSR Eagle will be covered with a million gallons of

ing phase of the war. Another breed, the down-and-dirty soldiers who would be instantly recognized by their Roman counterparts 2,000 years ago, stands in the wings. The sappers bridge the gap.

Sappers have been essential to warfare since Biblical days. They built the walls of Jericho and, by the end of the second millennium B.C., developed military construction into an art. It was in the deserts of this region that they honed their skills.

These are the happiest bunch of soldiers I've ever seen. They laughed and joked all the time. They're well looked after, too. Even out in the desert they have hot show-

*The author retired from the U.S. Army in 1971. He is in Saudi Arabia on special assignment for NEWSWEEK.*

ers. They have VCRs powered by their own generators, and watch the modern version of the snapshots we used to carry—family videos from home. They have good food, not the dreaded MREs, but more like TV Dinners: lasagna, spaghetti, steaks. They've been together a long time. There's such a strong family feeling in this unit I felt like something of an outsider among them, but I also had the thought that these kids will be torn up by casualties, they're so close that injuries and deaths are going to hurt a lot more. But as Pfc. Kevin Meade from Fort Bragg, N.C., told me, "The thought of casualties makes us train a lot harder, and we watch out for each other like we're watching out for our little brothers."

Combat engineers no longer clear mine-field paths with bayonets and sheer guts. Mine detectors are still part of their arsenal. But sappers also use sophisticated

gear like linked explosives that blow out a path 100 yards long and nearly 10 yards wide. The engineers are crucial to the destruction of the Iraqi Army waiting behind one of modern history's most awesome obstacle complexes. These entrenched positions, modeled after 16th-century breastworks, include miles of mines, booby traps and underground fortifications. For the ground phase of the U.S. AirLand Battle concept to work, these must be penetrated.

**National unity:** The Army will be doing all that soon enough. These kids know what they face. A widely held view here was expressed by Pfc. Roger Wofford from Jacksonville, Fla.: "The only way we're going to get home is through Iraq." But only, I hope, through a limited area of southern Iraq, and not in some grandiose assault on Baghdad. We don't want to make the mistake we made in Korea, when American forces bat-

tled all the way to the Yalu River and brought the Chinese into the war. If Gen. Douglas MacArthur had had his way, we would have plunged on into China, and probably would have triggered World War III. This time, we want to limit this war to the objective George Bush first announced: to free Kuwait. Period. For in the process of liberating Kuwait, the war will liberate the American people from the ghosts of Vietnam, from the humiliation that began to melt away on Jan. 16. The sons and daughters of the vanquished in Vietnam are now engaged in an act of national redemption. As Lt. John De Jarnette from Sedalia, Mo., said to me, "This war has galvanized our nation. It has given it the spirit it hasn't had since World War II. This unity has turned our nation around." I couldn't agree more. I hope the president and his generals don't blow it. ■

## 'This Is Not Our War': Discontent in Iraq

**R**ichard Beeston, a correspondent for The Times of London, was in Iraq in early February with other foreign journalists. Last week he filed this report for NEWSWEEK:

The simplest gestures become sinister in war. The driver of an oncoming car signals to us to slow down. Then a bus smeared with mud—make-shift camouflage—disgorges soldiers scrambling for cover. A few yards farther along a white Toyota is stopped, shattered by cannon fire. Its driver runs with his 10-year-old son in his arms; the boy, dressed in a red track suit, is wounded in the head.

Each day for the eight days I and a handful of other journalists were allowed to stay in Iraq we were taken on guided tours to see civilian casualties. That is why we were there, as far as the government was concerned. At the beginning of the war, Saddam Hussein's propaganda machine was telling his people, "We're inflicting heavy casualties. We're capturing pilots. We're winning this thing." But after the second week, they began a new phase: "Poor us. We're being hit. We're a weak country against a superpower." The tack seemed designed as much to play on public opinion in the



What does Saddam see?

West as to foster domestic support for the regime. In Iraq, the results were mixed. The people, who see the war virtually every day, are sorting out the facts for themselves.

There is little doubt that civilian casualties are mounting. Private vehicles are hit if they happen to be near military convoys, and sometimes if they are not. Bridges are targeted in growing numbers. In Al-Nasiriya, a crossroads northwest of Basra and the site of a major air base, the local governor reports as many as 20 bombing raids a day. In an attack on a bridge on Feb. 4, the Iraqis say 47

people were confirmed killed, and many more may have drowned or been buried in the rubble beneath the water.

There is anger at the West. When we tried to cross a makeshift bridge at Al-Nasiriya a crowd cursed us as foreigners. But remarkably, many Iraqis are reluctant to blame the Americans for civilian deaths. Instead, some have convinced themselves that Israelis are joining in the bombing raids to avenge Scud attacks in Tel Aviv. The first night I was in Iraq on this trip the car I was in crashed and, with two companions, I was stranded by the road. A group of soldiers picked us up. Initially they mistook me for a Western pilot. Yet even then, there was little hostility, and when they determined that I was a journalist, they drove us 500 miles to Baghdad and bought us breakfast.

**No glory:** There is also anger with Saddam, and even where there is not, there appears to be little fervor. Unlike the pro-Saddam partisans in Jordan or other Arab countries, these people actually have to put up with the effects of the war. They're seeing their country destroyed. I met no Iraqis who spoke of the fight as a struggle for Palestine

or Arab glory. People realize the fight is for Kuwait, and many have begun to wonder why. Twice, through contacts made in previous trips, I met young men who were dodging the draft. Even an Iraqi who is close to the government said bitterly, "This is not our war. This is Saddam's war. He's put us back 40 years."

Saddam may be impervious to such sentiments. It is doubtful he sees firsthand the suffering that reporters are shown, more doubtful still that anyone tells him of discontent.

In Al-Nasiriya's Saddam Hospital last week, provincial Gov. Taher Yassin Hussein took us on a tour of the day's carnage. As he stopped a stretcher and held up the wounded arm of a little girl for the cameras to record, he launched into the regime's official line. "This is one of the criminal acts committed by Bush," he proclaimed. "Even unfeeling animals would have to take pity on this." A doctor brought out the corpse of another child: Ahmed Qasem, 10, still dressed in the red track suit we had seen in the morning. "Bush is mistaken if he thinks we will desert our beloved leader," said the governor. "Our people shout, 'As long as our president is safe, we are all right.' Many Iraqis already know better."

# FOAM PACKAGING

## FACT OR FICTION?

### **POLYSTYRENE IS RECYCLABLE.**

True. The National Polystyrene Recycling Company is making recycling a reality. Polystyrene recycling is on the rise nationwide in cafeterias, schools, hospitals and businesses from California to New York. Residential curbside and drop-off programs are also underway and will be increasing. It's the polystyrene industry's goal to be recycling 250 million pounds by 1995.

Polystyrene is being recycled back into packaging as well as durable goods such as office supplies, house and garden products, construction materials, video cassettes and other useful consumer products.

True



False



### **THE PRODUCTION OF POLYSTYRENE CONTAINERS USES LESS ENERGY THAN PAPERBOARD.**

True. For example, manufacturing hamburger clamshells from polystyrene, instead of bleached paperboard, requires 30% less energy. It also results in 46% less air pollution and 42% less water pollution.<sup>1</sup>



### **POLYSTYRENE FOAM FOOD PACKAGING EQUALS ABOUT ONE PERCENT OF THE SPACE IN LANDFILLS.**

True, and this amount continues to diminish as recycling increases. Other materials in the landfill include yard wastes 10.3%; metals 12%; paper (newspapers, phone books and paperboard boxes) approximately 34%; and all plastics about 20%. The remainder is composed of food wastes, glass, appliances, construction debris and other materials.<sup>2</sup>



### **BIODEGRADABILITY IS NOT THE SOLUTION FOR SOLID WASTE PROBLEMS.**

True. Today's landfills are designed to inhibit biodegradation so that nothing readily degrades; not polystyrene, not paper, not even food wastes.<sup>3</sup>



1. Franklin Associates, Ltd. "Resource and Environmental Profile Analysis of Foam Polystyrene and Bleached Paperboard Containers," June 1990. 2. Environmental Protection Agency. "Characterization of Municipal Solid Waste in the United States," 1990. 3. William Rathje, Professor of Anthropology, University of Arizona, June 1989.



### **NATIONAL POLYSTYRENE RECYCLING COMPANY**

For more information, write Recycling, 1025 Connecticut Avenue, Suite 508, Washington, DC 20036.  
Or call us, toll-free, at 1-800-242-7434.





ANDY HERNANDEZ FOR NEWSWEEK

The Iraqi leader's supporters in Amman are putting new pressure on King Hussein

## Unquiet on the Western Front

Saddam is trying to draw Jordan into the conflict

Only a handful of refugees cross the border from western Iraq to the Ruweished checkpoint each morning. Emergency camps set up to receive thousands who were expected to flee the war stand all but empty. A Palestinian economist who drove from Kuwait across Iraq last week offers a simple explanation. The last 200 miles of highway is "very dangerous," he says. "You can't believe how dangerous." Allied bombs have cratered the road's six lanes; tankers, vans and trucks full of furniture smolder along the shoulders. In Iraq, he says, "people would rather die in their homes than die on the road."

This is the western front of the Persian Gulf War, and it is rarely quiet. While much of the world's attention is focused on the ground war looming around Kuwait, the wide-open deserts of western Iraq may provide Saddam with the setting for his last and boldest effort to widen the war. This is where he bases his Scud missile launchers for attacks on Tel Aviv; this is where the allies have concentrated many of their bombing raids. It is the closest front Saddam has to Israel, which he desperately hopes to draw into the conflict. So far he has failed. But geographically and politically, all that stands between Saddam and the hills of Jerusalem is the nation of Jordan—and his old friend King Hussein.

Jordan's monarch flatly refuses to join in the war. "To do what?" he said one evening last week, relaxing in the private quarters of his palace. "The best thing that Jordan can do is to preserve its land and its peo-

ple." But pressures are building daily to bring Jordan into the war on one side or the other. Many Jordanians, including influential fundamentalist leaders, fervently support Saddam. Washington's allies, meanwhile, are stirring resentments. Saudi Arabia has cut off much of Jordan's oil. Coalition jets have blasted tankers trying to bring fuel through western Iraq, killing nine Jordanian truckers, wounding more than a dozen others. "The noose is tightening," said the king. "I think we are going through a period of controlled and uncontrolled madness."

For the moment the king feels no direct pressure from Iraq to enter the fight. "None at all," he says. He denies Israeli reports that a Jordanian delegation sent to Baghdad after the war began came away shaken by Saddam's anger and concerned that he might try to force Jordan into the war. But an Arab envoy acquainted with the Iraqi regimesays that "Saddam personally would like to see the war widened in three directions: Jordan, Syria and Iran." With Damascus holding firm in the alliance and Teheran inclined to sit out the fight, a move into Jordan—with or without the king's consent—could be another of Saddam's bitter surprises. King Hussein has cautiously re-enforced the military on all his borders, Iraq's included. "The very clear orders given to our armed forces are 'Look in every direction,'" he says.

Militarily, Jordan's best defense may be

the allied bombers clearing Iraq's western desert of everything that moves. But it is the king's political acumen, developed during 38 years in power, that will probably ensure the neutrality he wants.

**Call for peace:** To Saddam and his supporters, the king offers mostly rhetoric. In an impassioned speech last week, he condemned "this destructive war," accusing the United States and its allies of trying to "destroy Iraq" and restructure the region by force. The king spoke with conviction about the suffering of the Iraqi people, but failed to mention either Kuwait—or Saddam Hussein. In the end, he called for peace. The remarks were greeted enthusiastically by Jordanians and denounced by Iraq's Arab foes as an avowal of alliance with Saddam. Washington responded with a "review" of aid to Jordan and the threat of a possible cut. Yet President Bush cautioned that "You have to listen to the rhetoric and understand why it's being used out in that part of the world."

Unlike the Kuwaiti battlefield, where the allied goal is straightforward—to force Iraq's withdrawal—the war's western front is fraught with all the political complexities of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Each move is loaded with implications not only for the war, but for the peace the Bush administration wants to build when the fighting is over. The president has known the king for years. (On a table in the palace sitting room, Bush's autographed picture is tactfully, neutrally displayed side by side with Saddam's.) If the Israelis can be brought to the table to negotiate a

lasting peace, Washington wants the king to be there. "When we look at alternatives [to the king] we don't see what we perceive to be a particularly pretty picture," Secretary of State James Baker told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last week. Despite his country's current problems, the king has never been better suited to the task. His identification with Saddam, a hero to many Palestinians, has given him new popularity in the Israeli-occupied territories and among the Palestinian majority in his own country. U.S. officials hope the king can serve as a partner with Palestinian leaders in future peace talks. Hussein is less sanguine. "I'm not naive enough to suggest we might live through this period to pick up the pieces," he says. He's been down that road before. On the western front, the path to peace can be almost as risky as the highway to Baghdad.

CHRISTOPHER DICKEY in Amman

### THE WAR DESERT STORM



# A Tide of Terrorism

## Is Saddam's call to action a psy-war tactic?

The spy trade calls it "open code." Radio Baghdad was overt enough: "This is a call from Maamoun to all, to all the revolutionary cells and to all action cells," said a voice in Iraqi-accented Arabic beamed around the world last week on shortwave. Then another voice: "This is Hamad from Central Command. Hamad to Kuteiba. Implement what is on the table and what is outside of it." And later: "Central Command to Ourwa: execute the program of the last meeting." Intelligence experts were puzzled. Was Saddam Hussein now ordering the precision terrorist attacks they most feared? Or was this a cheap but effective psy-war tactic?

Into a jittery world came the Irish Republican Army. Last week three mortar shells blasted out of a white Ford van parked in Whitehall, the heart of official London. Two landed outside the British Foreign Office, slightly injuring three policemen and a government worker. The third hit the rear garden of 10 Downing Street, 50 feet from where Prime Minister John Major was meeting with his war cabinet. The IRA claimed responsibility, and while there was no obvious link with Mideast terrorists, said Home Secretary Kenneth Baker, "I don't think one can rule it out, because Saddam Hussein has made it clear that he wants terrorism used as a weapon around the world." In any event, the fact of a terrorist attack in one of the world's most security-conscious districts was a reminder of the West's vulnerability. "The plain fact is that terrorism is easy," says Michael A. Yardley, a British expert on terrorist tactics. "If the Provisional IRA can mortar the war cabinet, there is no technical reason why Abu Nidal or another Middle Eastern group can't try something similar at the White House."

Since the war broke out on Jan. 16, the U.S. State Department has logged more than 100 attacks on Western interests around the world. Only a handful have been claimed in the name of Islam or known Middle East groups. But the rate is more than triple the average of recent years. Iraq is directly implicated in at least two incidents: the failed bombing that killed an Iraqi man in the Philippines and a botched effort to bomb the American ambassador's residence in Jakarta. Each

bomb was made from two dozen sticks of dynamite. The rest ranged from grenade and rocket attacks against Western embassies in Yemen to bombings in Athens; although there has been heavy property damage, only five victims have died.

A lone American was among them. Bobbie Mozelle, 44, of Detroit, was shot by a single assassin as he left his house in Adana, Turkey, last week for the giant U.S. air base in Incirlik, where he was a civilian employee. Allied warplanes are bombing Iraq from the base; in claiming the hit, the Turkish Dev Sol organization denounced "the bloody games of U.S. imperialism." Since war began, the underground group has bombed more than a dozen buildings or vehicles linked to the United States or its coalition partners. Some members of the group have trained with Palestinian guerrillas in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley. Other active terrorist

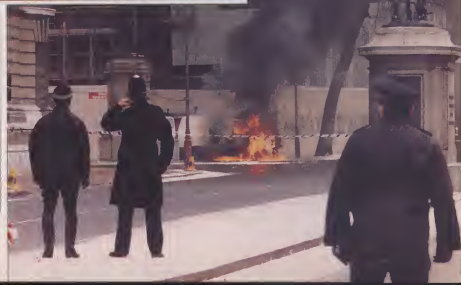
groups, such as 17 November in Greece and Tupac Amaru in Peru, are probably indigenous leftists taking advantage of the spotlight on Saddam.

The worst is probably yet to come, if only because large-scale terrorism takes planning. "We must anticipate continuing acts of terrorism long after the hostilities in the gulf have ceased," says FBI associate deputy director Oliver Revell. European security agencies last week continued to arrest and deport suspected terrorists. The State Department's list of countries considered unsafe for Americans grew to 31; it now includes most of the Muslim world. In Saudi Arabia, perhaps Saddam's primary target, officials said they had arrested six Palestinians and Yemenis for shooting at a bus carrying U.S. military personnel; police at proliferating roadside checkpoints now search cars driven by Arab "guest workers," and immigration officials deny re-entry to some Palestinians returning from vacations. "We will make you taste bitter death sooner or later," Baghdad radio promised King Fahd last week. No one thought it an empty threat.

TOM MASLAND with ROD NORDLAND in Rome,  
DANIEL PEDERSEN in London,  
BOB COHN in Washington and bureau reports

## THE WAR DESERT STORM

A van burns in Whitehall after the IRA used it to launch mortars at 10 Downing Street  
REX FEATURES  
STUART ANTOBUS—PRESS ASSOCIATION



# Four Ways the War Could End

For Bush, the ideal outcome is one that deprives Saddam of his job or his life

**T**he war in the Persian Gulf is nearly a month old, and for all the early talk of a quick knockout, the punch has yet to land. There is no clear picture yet of precisely when or how the war will end. Each side has its own definition of winning. Saddam Hussein can win politically even as he loses on the battlefield. The United States must—and probably will—win a clear-cut military victory. But that will not be enough to achieve all of George Bush's stated and unstated objectives.

From the American point of view, the ideal outcome is one that produces low casualties, drives Saddam out of power and leaves Iraq in one piece, able to defend itself but not strong enough to threaten its neighbors. Any such result would also achieve the official U.S. objective: to get Iraq out of Kuwait. Freeing Kuwait, however, is only part of a complicated process that is full of pitfalls for the allies. "The question isn't whether we're going to win," says a Pentagon official. "The question is how we win, and what options that leaves us with afterward." Although analysts disagree on the nuances, there are several ways in which the conflict might end:

■ **Saddam declares victory.** Before the land war begins—or even a week or two into the campaign—the Iraqi dictator could call the whole thing off, ordering his troops home. That would be a high-risk ploy. Saddam would fail in his principal objective, the absorption of Kuwait, and would be left with no tangible payoff for the losses he has suffered so far in the air war. He might be overthrown by his own generals or advisers. But even in retreat, Saddam's stature in the Arab world could be enormously enhanced if he is seen as the man who stood up to America, Israel and the rest of the West and managed to lash back by firing Scud missiles into Israel and Saudi Arabia and sending his troops to attack the Saudi town of Khafji.

"Saddam has pushed aside any number of lifelines, but I think this scenario is a fair possibility," Richard Murphy, the assist-

ant secretary of state for Middle East affairs in the Reagan administration, said last week. "Saddam has lasted a full three weeks, and that's three times as long as Syria, Jordan and Egypt lasted in 1967." If Saddam pulls out before the land war gets rolling, a large part of his Army would remain intact. So would much of his Air Force, assuming Iran gives back the 147 warplanes that have taken sanctuary there. With such means of intimidation left, he might be able to regain at the negotiating table some of what he gave up in leaving Kuwait: the oilfield and islands he covets.

For the United States, such an outcome would give Bush a victory in Kuwait with a minimum of bloodshed. But it could leave Saddam in power and would certainly deprive Bush of the chance to completely destroy Iraq's military machine. Some U.S. officials describe an early end to the war as the "nightmare scenario." If Saddam attempts it, the allies will try

to keep him from withdrawing his armor, according to a senior official who is familiar with Bush's thinking on the subject. Bush's men calculate they would have a week or so to bomb Iraqi forces and knock out the river bridges that heavy equipment would need for a retreat.

But once Saddam begins to meet Bush's demand for "a credible, visible withdrawal," the Americans would have to let up and allow his troops—if not their tanks—to escape. U.S. officials don't think it will come to that. "There will be a window of opportunity for him," says one, "after he's bloodied us but before his military apparatus is decimated, to revert to his pragmatist, survivor mode. But he's very likely to ignore it or miss it. He is a brinksman who doesn't know where the brink is, and his ego may well have become too grandiose for him to do this."

■ **Saddam loses the war but hangs onto power.** This is a more likely outcome. Saddam is



Demoralized by three weeks of bombing, Iraqi POWs

nothing without his Army; if he loses it, he could forfeit his rule or his life. But if he can put up a good fight for a month or two, he might be able to survive an outright defeat. The Republican Guards, the largest body of troops on which his regime depends, are deployed in northern Kuwait and southern Iraq. If he throws in the towel at the right moment, he might be able to extricate many of them from a battlefield disaster.

In this outcome, Saddam would be a hero to much of the Arab world and would continue to pose at least a political threat to his neighbors. But symbolism can cut both ways. With Saddam still in power, it would be relatively easy to hold the anti-Saddam coalition together, at least for a while. If Saddam hangs on, the Bush administration will try to maintain an embargo on Iraqi oil exports and military purchases, sources say. The sanctions would break down eventually, but the goal would be to weaken Saddam as much as possible in the hope that he would be overthrown.

The United States might also be tempted to keep a military presence in Saudi Arabia. "In the long run, that would work against us," says Gregory Gause, a Mideast expert at Columbia University. "It would be harder to come to a security understanding with the Iranians. And the presence of large-scale American forces in Saudi Arabia in the medium term would serve as a focal point for discontent there."

■ **Saddam is killed or overthrown.** His downfall is the other most likely outcome, and

**THE WAR  
DESERT  
STORM**



PASCAL GUYOT—AFP

guarded by Egyptian soldiers cover their faces

even if it occurs late in the conflict, it would be a blessing for Washington. With Saddam out of the way, it might well be easier to make peace, perhaps using the services of mediators like Iran, the Soviet Union or Algeria. In a post-Saddam climate, the allies would have the opportunity to create a new security structure in the gulf region, to promote arms control and, further afield, even to tackle the Palestinian problem.

Saddam would probably be replaced by someone much like himself—a member of the political inner circle of relatives and yes men or a general who has survived the dictator's periodic purges of the military. A respectable general would be the best of the feasible successors. Fred Halliday, a Middle East expert at the London School of Economics, calls this "the Badoglio solution," referring to the field marshal who replaced Mussolini and paved the way for Italy's surrender in World War II. "It's the real Arab solution—a nationalist military coup in Baghdad," says Halliday. "It lets everyone off the hook. Effectively, it undoes the 2nd of August"—the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. Even if some thoroughly despicable figure takes power, he almost cannot help but be an improvement over Saddam, from the allied point of view. "There are problems with a post-Saddam Iraq, but they're not nearly as great as the problems of Iraq with Saddam," says Gause. "It's easier to deal with a dead martyr than a live hero."

The danger is that post-Saddam Iraq could simply collapse. Any new govern-

ment might be too weak to oppose the separatist impulses of the rebellious Kurdish minority or the downtrodden Shiite majority. Ambitious neighbors such as Iran or Syria would be tempted to snatch pieces of territory for themselves, Balkanizing Iraq and plunging the region into a new spasm of instability, with disastrous consequences for countries like Jordan.

#### ■ The war becomes a quagmire.

Although U.S. officials consider this to be the least likely result, Saddam might be able to resist for longer than expected, for any of a number of reasons: good Iraqi morale, bad weather, the failure of high-tech U.S. weapons, the use of Iraqi poison gas, or a split in the anti-Saddam coalition, perhaps caused by Israel being dragged into the war. The conflict also could be prolonged if allied objectives change, requiring a deeper ground thrust into Iraq than now planned.

A longer war would hurt the United States at home, strain-

ing the economy and exacerbating racial tensions because of the disproportionate number of blacks in the front lines. If the allies try to end the war by lunging toward Baghdad, the war could turn bloodier and uglier. The invaders would run into populated areas and religious sites that would be hotly defended by soldiers and civilians alike. An invasion of Iraq would arouse anti-American sentiment throughout the

Arab world, where people are linked by strong ties of religion and culture. "These connections are not evident to generals, who see only military targets, and President Bush doesn't see them," says Edward Said, a literature professor at Columbia University and an independent member of the Palestine National Council, the PLO's parliament in exile. "He is like Captain Ahab looking at Moby Dick," charges Said. "He's completely obsessed with Saddam Hussein."

Administration officials insist they are not after Saddam personally, if only because he is too elusive a target. They also say the United States does not want to destroy Iraq or occupy it. And they are confident that the allied attack will not get bogged down. "Once we start advancing, [Saddam's] troops will have a choice: they can stay in their bunkers and be mowed down, or they can come out to fight and be chewed up by our combination of air and ground power," says a senior U.S. official.

In all the endgame scenarios, however, the most important variable is what happens to Saddam Hussein. If he remains in power, both the war and its aftermath will be more difficult. But defeat in war could discredit both Saddam and his regime, leading to his political or physical demise. In that case, says one U.S. official, "the new regime might be unstable. The Iraqis will hate us. But Iraq will be whole. Its regime will be more pragmatic. And we can deal with that." The key element in resolving a complicated struggle thus becomes a simple question of one man's survival.

RUSSELL WATSON with MARGARET GARRARD WARNER and ANN MCDANIEL in Washington, TONY CLIFTON in Saudi Arabia, ANNE UNDERWOOD in New York and DANIEL PEDERSEN in London



LEILA DEES—AP

Houses near Baghdad demolished by a U.S. cruise missile, according to the Iraqis

# War's New Science

Desert Storm shows the promise—and limitations—of our high-tech arsenal

**A** cost-free victory. A push-button, remote-control war won without casualties. Surgical strikes that wipe out military targets while sparing civilians. Anyone with a television set, watching videos of American bombs sailing through Iraqi doorways and down air shafts, must wonder: if these weapons were just a little more gee-whiz, couldn't the grunts and their ground assaults be dispensed with altogether? With a lethal land battle looming in the Persian Gulf, the fantasy of war made bloodless by science is all the more beguiling.

The results of the Persian Gulf showdown, when they finally come in, will fuel an old quarrel over the virtues of high tech versus low tech, especially if some smart weapons turn out to be duds. But that debate may miss the point. The fact is that future weapons will have to be high tech to survive. The real question is, just how high tech—and what kind of weapons? For planners and policymakers, the issue is whether to build ever more sophisticat-

ed airplanes and tanks—"manned platforms," in the military jargon—or whether to build better unmanned weapons to do the job instead. The choice is between evolution and revolution.

The most revolutionary weapon to land on Saddam is the cruise missile (page 40). In Baghdad, one Western correspondent watched in awe as a Tomahawk passed overhead, seemed to pause for a

moment—and turned left, toward the Ministry of Defense. Who needs pilots when missiles have minds of their own? Yet the workhorse of the war so far is a plane that began rolling off the assembly line back when American cars had fins. The B-52 has unloaded more bombs on the Iraqi forces than any warplane in the allied arsenal (page 46). The old plane is a model of the evolutionary ap-

## THE WAR DEADLY SCIENCE

### Revolutionary Weapons

**Stealth planes:** A combination of design and materials (mainly graphite composites) makes manned flights invisible to enemy radar. Already used in the F-117A fighter and the B-2 bomber; planned for the Advanced Tactical Fighter.

**ATACMS:** The Army's tactical missile system can fire 75 miles. Could be loaded with smart bombs to seek out individual tanks.

**Virtual reality helmets:** The Air Force is experimenting with headgear that would project images of the battlefield for a pilot, with a yellow path leading to the target.







YVES DEBAY—AGENCE FRANCE PRES

#### Testing an F-117A Stealth fighter (left), an M-1A1 tank in Saudi Arabia

proach. It has been rebuilt and re-equipped a half-dozen times over the past three decades to run missions at night and through bad weather. In all, the apparent success of American weaponry in the gulf still owes more to slow and often painful trial and error than any sudden breakthrough. Most of the technology is vintage 1970s. Kennedy-era airframes like the F-4 and F-111 have been stuffed full of high-tech gear—microprocessors, laser guiding devices, electromagnetic jammers, infrared sensors.

Inside the so-called Iron Triangle—the Pentagon, Congress and the defense industry—tech can almost never be too high. The military has spent billions perfecting “stealth” technology to allow airplanes to slip past enemy defenses. Already the Pentagon is using the performance of the F-117A Stealth fighter in the gulf to seek congressional support for the B-2 Stealth bomber, endangered on Capitol Hill by its high price tag (at least \$850 million apiece). The F-117A Stealth fighter has been a success—but in a more specialized role than the Pentagon acknowledges. The Stealth does not pack much punch. Yet because it is invisible to enemy radar, it can loiter over the target. In the gulf, the F-117A has been used mostly as a spotter plane, circling on high, training a laser “designator” on the target. Old-fashioned conventional aircraft—like the F-15, F-111 and Tornado—swoop in behind to actually deliver the bombs. It is a case study of how new high tech can be combined with old tech to get the job done.

## Evolutionary Weapons

**M-1A1 Tank:** A dinosaur. Future “land combat vehicles” will fire ultra-high-velocity electric guns, and deflect enemy shells with an electromagnetic force field.

**LCAC Hovercraft:** Air-cushioned landing craft allows the Marines to refight the battles of World War II, but hit the beaches at 50 mph.

**F-4G Wild Weasel:** A very old airframe stuffed with new electronics. Can take tremendous stress from high-speed, low-level flight, while hunting enemy radar with homing and jamming pods and air-to-ground missiles.

The Pentagon would like to build a whole new generation of aircraft with truly revolutionary technology. Although Defense Secretary Dick Cheney canceled the Navy's A-12 after massive cost overruns, the Navy will undoubtedly need to build a new attack plane to replace the aging A-6. The Air Force, meanwhile, forges ahead with the ATF—Advanced Tactical Fighter. The ATF will not only be stealthy, it will be equipped with ever more sophisticated computers to help the pilot fly the plane—and, if need be, fly it for him. The Air Force is experimenting with a Virtual Reality Helmet that projects a cartoonlike image of the battlefield for the pilot, with flashing symbols for enemy planes, and a yellow-brick road leading right to the target. Additionally, if the “Gs” from the tight-turning, fast-climbing plane make the pilot

pass out, then a new computer, delicately called the pilot's associate, would take over.

So why have pilots at all? Why not just build a plane that delivers weapons by remote control? There are, in fact, such planes on the drawing boards. Their backers call them RPVs—“remotely piloted vehicles.” Pilots, who do not want to be put out of business, call them “drones” (as in “dull” or “stupid”). The Air Force has been slow to develop drones for anything more ambitious than target practice.

Parochialism aside, there are other real problems in designing weapons that find targets without human guidance. It is one thing for an infrared—heat seeking—missile to pick a target out of the cold clear sky, but quite another to spot one on the warm and cluttered ground. Development of

these “brilliant” weapons takes years of trial and error. The Pentagon is still struggling to perfect a radar-guided, “fire and forget” missile called the AMRAAM that has been in development for more than a decade.

**Soaring costs:** The greatest obstacle to the high-tech revolution is money. As the costs of these weapons soar (the B-2 costs roughly 10 times as much as the old B-52), the resources available to the Pentagon will shrink, especially if the American economy remains shaky. Some defense experts, like Armed Services Committee chairman Sam Nunn, argue that the United States should continue to produce tried-and-true planes, but arm them with ever-smarter munitions, which are far cheaper to build than airplanes. The old planes need not be able to penetrate right to the target. The idea is to launch bombs and missiles from “platforms” that would “stand off” out of the range of enemy fighters and anti-aircraft. The old could be married to the new: a B-52, for instance, can launch a cruise missile.

Americans have always looked to science for their answers, in war as in everything else. The H-bomb was supposed to make war too awful to contemplate, and Star Wars was intended to make it impossible to win. Now science seeks to leave the fighting to machines. It is unlikely that high technology will ever entirely remove men from the loop, however—nor should it. War is too unpredictable to be left to Dr. Strangelove's computer. Yet the promise of high-tech warfare still beckons: to slowly move men farther and farther from the killing fields.

EVAN THOMAS and JOHN BARRY



# The Mind of a Missile

The cruise missile, triumphant in the gulf, is a techno-marvel that almost didn't get out of the lab

**K**athi Crebo heard the beginning of Operation Desert Storm through an office wall. A supervisor at General Dynamics' Convair Division plant in suburban San Diego, Crebo was leading a training class when a cheer erupted from the factory floor. The workers who assemble the Tomahawk cruise missile finally knew that their product worked. Over the next few days, exultation would alternate with sober reflection. "Most of us know people who are over in the gulf," Crebo says, "and we didn't want a lot of laughing and joking." Suffusing everything, there was pride. The daughter of a General Dynamics worker heard about the Tomahawk strikes and said, "My daddy touched that."

The celebrations had been a long time coming. It's been almost two decades since the first cruise-missile contract was issued, and the program often seemed close to crashing. "We've been through a soap opera. There would be hope, then despair," says Frank Thompson, General Dynamics' Tomahawk director. "I can't count the times we thought the program had no possibility of going forward."

Now the Tomahawk seems to be giving new meaning to the term guided missile, with an accuracy that the CNN-addicted public has found breathtaking. Of the first 52 Tomahawks fired, the military reported 51 hit home. By the end of the war's third week, some 300 of the \$1.3 million Tomahawk cruise missiles had been fired at Iraq. Officials told Congress that the Tomahawks have been more than 85 percent effective in destroying their targets, exceeding the performance the missiles registered in tests. Outside experts question whether these figures are inflated, and no one will really know how well the Tomahawk did for months to come. But in its first test in battle, the early reviews hail the Tomahawk as a high-tech weapon that could change the nature of battle forever.

In the simplest sense, the cruise-missile story is about science and technology—miraculously small jet engines and on-board computers that get the Tomahawk from launch to target. But it is much more than that. It's also a story of budgets and bureaucracies; of loose screws and

driven people. The tale sheds light on the workings of—and complex relationships between—the research labs, defense manufacturers, the Pentagon and Capitol Hill that make up what former president Dwight D. Eisenhower called the military-industrial complex. What it shows is that American knowhow can make good on its promise of dazzling, "cleaner" weaponry. But it also shows how much can be wasted—money, time, even careers—in the difficult birthing of the arsenal of the future.

## THE WAR DEADLY SCIENCE

**How It Works:** The Tomahawk cruise missile (for jargon buffs, the BGM-109) is a 20-foot-long weapon that literally has its own mind—though programmers tell it what to "think" before it is launched. It owes its success to the cooperation of several guidance and propulsion systems. On a typical flight, a booster rocket

shoots the missile off a ship or submarine with a thunderous 12-second burn. Then its turbofan engine takes over and the missile jets toward land, directed by its "inertial-guidance system." Almost old-fashioned by today's standards, inertial guidance uses sensors and gyroscopes to measure acceleration and changes in direction. Once the missile crosses the shore, a more precise guidance method, TERCOM, clicks in (chart). It finds its destination the way most

## The Path to a Target

**1** Course is fed into the Tomahawk's computer. After booster-rocket launch a jet engine ignites, and missile flies to shore.

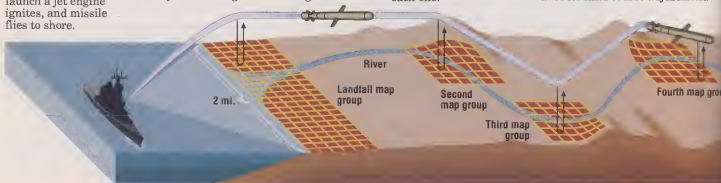
**2** Once over shore, TERCOM guidance system compares radar altitude readings with terrain map groups in memory. The first group is the largest, to compensate for any drift during the ocean flight.



**Advance mapping by satellite**

**3** Missile passes over other map groups, correcting course at each one.

**4** As it nears target, the missile turns on a video camera. By digitally comparing pre-programmed images to those stored in memory the Tomahawk makes its final course adjustment.





In a 1980 test, a cruise missile is fired from a launcher aboard the USS Merrill

of us do—not by reading a map but by recognizing familiar sights along the way. This Terrain Contour Matching system scans the landscape at set checkpoints, taking altitude readings and comparing them to map data in its computer memory. The missile scoots along at about 550 miles per hour and can be programmed to hug the terrain at less than 100 feet like a radar-

evading fighter plane and to make unpredictable twists and turns.

After covering as much as 1,500 miles, the Tomahawk closes in on what its engineers prosaically call the "terminal end point," and the third guidance system takes over: DSMAC (Digital Scene Matching Area Correlator). "Deesmac" snaps a picture of the target area and compares that digitized data to a version in memory. The computer gives the stubby wings and tail fins a final adjustment, bringing the warhead to the target with unnerving accuracy. Thanks to this three-stage process, "we feel we could launch a [Tomahawk] from Boston Harbor aimed at RFK Stadium and we'll put it between the goal posts," says Bob Holsapple, a spokesman for the Navy's Cruise Missile Project. Depending on which version of the Tomahawk has been launched, it will carry either a 1,000-pound high-explosive Bulpup warhead or a cluster of 166 soda-can-size "bomblets" that can be dropped over three targets en route to a fourth. (Other versions carry nuclear warheads and are not in use in the gulf.)

This is a far cry from a can-

nonball. But it was inevitable that warriors would someday give their projectiles engines of their own. Greater range and precision are "force multipliers"—military jargon for getting more bang for the buck. Two technologies competed for the future. One sends the rocket high into the air, describing a path that, with calculation of the ballistics, reaches the target. The other turns the missile into a pilotless plane that flies to the target.

**A 46-Year Birth:** The Germans began launching cruise precursors in 1944; the lumbering V-1 bore a one-ton warhead, a maximum speed of 400 miles per hour, a range of about 200 erratic miles. Germany also had a ballistic missile, the V-2. Author Thomas Pynchon captured the promise and terror of this new science of war in "Gravity's Rainbow," a book whose title describes the rocket's arc. Pynchon boils it down to one wicked limerick:

*There once was a thing called a V-2,  
To pilot which you did not need to—  
You just pushed a button,  
And it would leave nuttin'  
But stiffs and big holes and debris, too.*

Ballistic missiles soon gained the edge, with early defense-sponsored computers performing their arduous calculations. Though the Air Force and Navy tried pilotless aircraft with curiously comical names like Snark, Navaho, Hound Dog and Regulus, the hapless crafts would stray miles off course.

Inadequate technology wasn't the sole reason the military initially scoffed at cruise missiles. The lowly drones had no place in the wish list of each service. The Air Force wanted fast-moving ballistic missiles and new generations of heavy bombers to carry its multimegaton nuclear warheads. The Navy wanted Polaris submarines and aircraft carriers. The cruises were not just a sideshow; they were seen as a threat to these grander visions. A cheap unmanned craft might deliver the payload as well or better than a piloted plane. That lurking prospect kept the military hostile to the cruise—and all but out of the cruise business for most of the 1960s.

But the Soviet Union was still in it. After the six-day Arab-Israeli war, American defense strategists were stunned when Egypt sank the Israeli destroyer Eilat with Soviet-made SS-N-2 Styx cruises. Soon after, the Navy ordered up anti-missile sys-



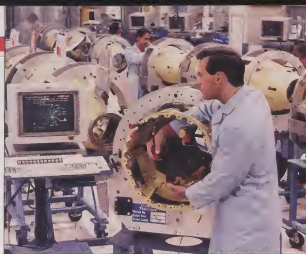
JARRED SCHNEIDMAN

tems and the Harpoon anti-ship cruise missile. Even then, the brass tethered it with a 60-nautical-mile range, leaving the long-distance attacks to the flyboys. For similar reasons, the Air Force later canceled development of an unmanned decoy plane; the brass saw that it could be converted to a cruise and hurt the chances for the proposed B-1 bomber.

By then the cruise idea was almost unkillable. Congress in 1971 appropriated a mere \$10 million for early research on long-range cruise missiles. John Lehman, a Reagan-era Navy secretary, says the cruise is a "classic civilian weapons system... invented by civilians and kept alive by civilians because it never fit into the services' agendas." While the cruise was hated at the top, some members of the military saw its potential. Like any program that must take on the Pentagon brass, this one needed a champion within the ranks willing to risk his career and brave the bureaucracy.

**The Man Who Saved It:** Walter Locke was a maverick by military standards. Most ambitious sailors take rotations of sea duty and staff posts to work their way up the ranks, but Locke pursued a master's degree in electrical engineering and began learning the ropes of weapons-system management. Then in the summer of 1971, a Navy personnel officer gave Locke, who was then a commander, a choice of two duty stations: a juicy command slot or some "flaky project" foisted on the Navy. It was the cruise-missile project, and, to the officer's consternation, Locke jumped at the chance. "I saw we had a revolution here," Locke recalls.

When Locke took over, Navy colleagues were putting down bets that the cruise-missile program would be dead within a year, and his superiors told him to aim the research at something that the Navy might use for other weapons once the cruise was canceled. But Locke was blunt and willful. Says Larry Smith, an aide to House Armed Services Committee chairman Les Aspin and a longtime cruise follower, "He was like a football tackle who never goes for the fake. He just keeps coming after you." Before long, Locke developed patrons. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger was shopping for a bargaining chip he could use in the second round of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT II). Sea-launched



Assembling components on the cruise production line

## A Dream for Contractors

Not only is the main contract for the Tomahawk split between General Dynamics and McDonnell Douglas; dozens of subcontractors supply parts. Among them:

**Honeywell:** The Minneapolis-based company's Military Avionics Division makes the missile's microwave-radar altimeter. It is similar to the systems used on the Navy's F-14A Tomcat and A-6E Intruder. The company has also developed a ring laser gyroscope that may figure in a planned upgrade of the Tomahawk.

**Williams International:** Engineer Sam Williams began developing small turbine engines while working in the automobile industry. Now his company's astonishingly small, fuel-efficient engines can be found in Air Force and business aircraft—and the Tomahawk.

**Litton:** The Beverly Hills-based electronics manufacturer provides part of the inertial guidance system that steers the Tomahawk from its submarine or ship-based launcher to land, where the TERCOM navigational system comes into play.

cruise missiles (SLCMs or "slickems" as the services would call them) were ideal weapons to throw away later in exchange for Soviet concessions. Kissinger pressed the Pentagon to keep the Tomahawk alive. The second patron: Deputy Secretary of Defense William P. Clements, a blustery oil tycoon who would later serve two terms as governor of Texas. While he knew next to nothing about national defense, cruise missiles played to his soft spot for high-tech wizardry. Locke began slipping Clements back-channel briefings on the weapons to pique his interest and Clements built a bureaucratic wall around the program to protect it from Navy long knives.

Timing was right for a return to cruise technology. By the 1970s the technologies of guidance and propulsion were catching up with ballistics. Powerful jet engines could be made small and light. Sam Williams, a former Chrysler engineer working in Walled Lake, Mich., had been tinkering with fuel-efficient turbofan engines and

came up with a tiny, 130-pound wonder. Reliable guidance systems like TERCOM, patented in 1958, could now be shrunk. The military's hostility might even have helped the project, keeping it more simple than the specification-laden pet projects of the top brass: initial requirements for the missile took up a single page.

Locke put together a highly motivated team—and then proceeded to break many of the rules of standard operating procedure that the Pentagon holds dear. Other programs fill key positions with engineers, but Locke tapped business-savvy Navy supply-corps officers. Rejecting the rigid structure of most military organizations, Locke let his officers roam until they found a niche. And while programs usually study systems for many years before building prototypes, Locke rushed models into production and testing—a "fly before you buy" approach that Locke thought would keep the project flexible. Locke and his team also grilled potential contractors mercilessly, a remarkable change from the usual cozy relations. He settled on two main contractors by 1976: General Dynamics would design the missile and McDonnell Douglas would come up with the guidance system.

**The False Starts:** By the mid-1970s the Tomahawk's political base was firm. Military reformers like Sen. Gary Hart would stump for the cruise and President Jimmy Carter would cite its potential in canceling the B-1 and arguing against building more aircraft carriers. But trouble came from a new direction: within. By the summer of 1982, 17 of the 32 test firings of the submarine-launched missile failed, some spectacularly. In July 1978 two submarine-launched anti-ship SLCMs dropped back into the Pacific as Defense Secretary Harold Brown watched. In 1980 an off-course test missile set off a brush fire in Los Padres National Forest; another came within miles of residences in Ojai, Calif.

General Dynamics came under fire for the multimillion-dollar duds. In 1981 and 1982 the Pentagon slapped the company with six reprimands for poor quality control—even citing loose screws and faulty wiring. Meanwhile, the press (including *Newsweek*), outside defense analysts and congressional investigators began raising

(Continued on page 43)

# Arms and the Men

The allied and Iraqi forces squaring off in the Persian Gulf amount to the greatest concentration of military might gathered in a single region since World War II. In this special pullout section, Newsweek provides a comprehensive guide to the weapons of war on both sides. Also, a close-up look at an American Marine and his equipment, and the military hierarchy that runs the gulf operation from Washington and Saudi Arabia.

## By the Numbers

Of the 370,000 U.S. ground forces in the Persian Gulf, 90,000 are Marines stationed in Saudi Arabia and the nearby region. The Marines and the U.S. Army organize their infantry troops similarly:

**4 Marines = 1 Fire Team**

**3 Fire Teams = 1 Squad**  
(13 Marines\*)

**3 Squads = 1 Platoon**  
(43 Marines)

**3 Platoons = 1 Company**  
(182 Marines)

**3 Companies = 1 Battalion**  
(905 Marines)

**3 Battalions = 1 Regiment†**  
(3,037 Marines)

**3 Regiments = 1 Division**  
(9,111 Marines. With support personnel, the total strength of a Marine Division is 18,000.)

\*NUMBERS APPROXIMATE AND VARY ACCORDING TO REINFORCEMENTS. †ARMY EQUIVALENT IS BRIGADE  
SOURCE: U.S. MARINE CORPS

ALCE medium-issue backpack with frame (contains chemical-warfare suit, two ponchos, poncho liner, rations, underwear, shaving kit)

sleeping bag

Kevlar helmet

Load-Bearing Equipment (contains ammo pouch, fighting knife, first-aid kit, 9-mm Beretta pistol)

entrenching tool

M-16 A-2

two one-quart canteens

Kevlar flak vest

bedroll

gas mask carried on waist (not visible)

personal items in leg pocket

combat-issue boots

**Total Weight:**  
60 to 70 pounds

GARY KIEFFER



# Saddam's War Machine

In the past decade, Saddam Hussein has spent, by some estimates, \$50 billion to build one of the world's largest military machines. He did business with the Soviet Union as well as with the United States and Western Europe. The Iraqi arsenal includes fighter jets and bombers, thousands of tanks, high-tech weaponry and vast storehouses of chemical and biological weapons.



**MiG-29 Fulcrum:** One of Saddam's hottest planes, the Soviet-built fighter can be armed with air-to-air missiles or ground-attack bombs and rockets.



**Mirage F-1:** Saddam's finest fighter jet, some of the French F-1s carry laser-guided weapons; others have extra fuel tanks for increased range.



**Su-24 Fencer:** This Soviet-built ground-attack plane's electronic sensors can guide missiles to hard-to-detect targets—even in bad weather and at night.



**IL-76:** Designed as a transport plane, this large Soviet jet can be configured as an early-warning radar plane, similar to the U.S. AWACS.



**BMP:** Infantry fighting vehicle used mostly by Republican Guards, the Soviet BMPs do double duty: they carry the infantry into battle—and help them fight it.



**G-5 Howitzer:** Saddam's vaunted 'supergun' from South Africa. Extremely accurate, the 155-mm towed weapon has a range of up to 24 miles.



**Astros II Rocket System:** Can fire a surface-to-surface warhead more than 30 miles, farther than its U.S. counterpart. Brazil also sold Astros to the Saudis.



**ZSU-23-4:** Iraq has these four-barreled anti-aircraft guns standing guard in cities and in the desert. Self-propelled, the ZSU uses radar to take aim.





**Mi-24 Hind:** This Soviet helicopter is armed with Gatling guns, antitank missiles or chemical warheads. Later models are protected by infrared jammers.



**SA-342 Gazelle:** Saddam bought three species of ground-attack helicopters from France; in past conflicts he has armed the Gazelle with antitank missiles.



**T-72:** The Soviets' best battle tank has a powerful 125-mm gun. Not as fast as the American M-1A1, but it is battle tested and may be more reliable in the desert.



**T-62:** An inferior relative of the T-72 battle tank. Mounted with relatively inaccurate 115-mm guns, the T-62s form the core of the Iraqi tank brigade.



**Milan:** A portable antitank weapon, the Franco-German Milan comes equipped with a thermal-imaging device that can be used in night fighting.



**Scud:** The inaccuracy of the Soviet missiles has made them more a political than a military threat. In the wings: French Exocets and Chinese Silkworms.



**Frog-7:** During the Iran-Iraq War, Saddam is believed to have used the Soviet-made surface-to-surface rockets to deliver payloads of mustard gas. Range: 55 miles.



**Chemical and Biological Warfare:** Weapons from grenades to missiles could carry hydrogen cyanide, mustard gas or nerve gases. Or germs, such as anthrax.

# Links in the Chain of Command

How orders get from George Bush to the troops in the field



**Dick Cheney, 49:** Secretary of Defense. Former Wyoming congressman is known for his cool and deliberate demeanor.



**Army Gen. Colin Powell, 53:** Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff. Son of Jamaican immigrants, Powell is the first black chairman.



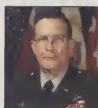
**Army Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf III, 56:** Commander in chief, U.S. Central Command (CentCom). Based in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, he is in charge of all American forces in the gulf. Prefers the nickname "The Bear" to "Stormin' Norman" and loves opera. Served two tours in Vietnam.



**Army Lt. Gen. Calvin Waller, 53:** CentCom's deputy commander in chief.



**Marine Major Gen. Robert B. Johnston, 53:** CentCom chief of staff.



**Army Lt. Gen. John J. Yeosock, 53:** Commander of all U.S. Army forces.



**Marine Lt. Gen. Walter Boomer, 52:** Commands all Marines in the Persian Gulf.



**Vice Adm. Stanley Arthur, 55:** Commands 120 warships from USS Blue Ridge.



**Air Force Lt. Gen. Charles Horner, 54:** Commands 1,800 U.S. warplanes in the region.

## The Mettle for Medals

Last month the Pentagon shipped thousands of medals to the Persian Gulf, and it may create a new award for the gulf campaign. The military's "fruit cocktail" can be hard to decode. Here's a sampler, taken from Army Lt. Gen. Thomas Kelly, director of operations for the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

**Vietnam Service Medal**  
For service in Southeast Asia from 1965 to 1973



**Bronze Star Medal** For heroic achievement against opposing forces, with four additional citations

**Distinguished Flying Cross** For heroism while flying

**Purple Heart** For wounds sustained in Vietnam

**Overseas Service Ribbon** For successfully completing foreign tours

**Republic of Vietnam Campaign Medal** For six months' direct combat support or service in South Vietnam from 1961 to 1973

(Continued from page 42)

troubling questions about the missile's guidance system and engine power. The debate over arms control had made the cruise controversy all the hotter. As President Carter struggled to get the SALT II treaty ratified, conservatives refused to let cruises be negotiated away, while liberals said the easy-to-conceal cruises would make verification impossible. Says aide Smith, "This new technology got caught in all kinds of cross-fires."

So did Locke. Patrons like Clements had moved on, and the burgeoning multiservice program had grown hugely complex. Pentagon officials complained privately of Locke's management style. "He forgot who he was working for," complained one Navy source. "People in the blue-suit community felt he wasn't playing with them straight." In August 1982, Locke, by then a rear admiral, got the ax.

**Getting the Bugs Out:** The new program manager, Rear Adm. Stephen Hostettler, immediately halted all cruise-missile testing for almost a year and ordered the contractors back to their drawing boards while he restructured the program. Navy Secretary Lehman, who describes himself as a "red-hot Tomahawk booster," made some politically shrewd moves. He worked the cruises into his own pet project—returning mothballed World War I-era battleships to active service. By promoting battleships as an ideal platform for the cruises, he got Congress and the Navy brass on board.

The Lehman contribution that truly saved the cruise was competition—in military jargon, dual-source procurement. The Pentagon forced General Dynamics to share the contract with another supplier, McDonnell Douglas. The two companies would share their technology and then compete on price and performance for the larger share of each year's missile order. General Dynamics didn't want to share its contract—which only makes up 3 percent of the company's business—but the Pentagon left it no choice. "He was the stick and the carrot," says General Dynamics' Thompson. The result was dramatic. The flight-test problems all but disappeared, and the program's price plunged by an estimated \$3 billion. At McDonnell Douglas's Titusville, Fla., plant, program director Charles Hoover insists that the success of dual sourcing is as much "partnership" as competition. "Sure, we want to win a bigger piece of each year's contract," he says, but "I don't think this missile program would be as successful as it is if the entire relationship with General Dynamics was adversarial. Rather, it's like another set of eyes watching what you're doing—we audit each other."

Despite the improvements, the missile still didn't see action for another few years. Defense planners refused to consider the

Tomahawk for the strike mission against Libya's Col. Muammar Kaddafi in 1986. While some Pentagon sources say that the Air Force had insisted that its F-111 fighters get the glory, it's also possible that the brass didn't yet trust the Tomahawk's accuracy. A 1988 report from the General Accounting Office accused the military of fudging tests to improve performance—even painting targets to increase the likelihood of a hit.

The Tomahawk's performance in the gulf has gone a long way to dispel the doubts. "I think we can safely tell them to blow it out their ears," says Allen Talbot, a 52-year-old guidance-system assembler at Titusville. Yet doubts persist. The military had five months to map and plot targets; other conflicts might not provide

which is less powerful than the most basic off-the-shelf PC. Says John Pike, director of the Space Policy Project at the Federation of American Scientists: "For all the talk about these smart weapons, they're mostly old. . . There's a saying in the computer industry: when it finally works, it's obsolete." By 1993, cruises will also carry Global Positioning System receivers, the satellite-based navigation system gaining wide use in military and civilian life, as well as upgrades for the digital scene-matching system and some Stealth technology. The next missiles will even have a time of arrival control: attack planners can coordinate cruise strikes for, say, minutes before planes arrive. If it's going to be early, the missile knows to dawdle long enough to reach the target on time.



A bridge in Iraq that was reportedly destroyed by a cruise-missile hit last week

that luxury of time for the laborious software work. And outside experts have accused the military of massaging its numbers. Western journalists in Baghdad have filed unconfirmed reports of Tomahawks striking civilian targets or getting shot down by antiaircraft fire. The Pentagon's claims of an 85 percent success rate could mean that most targets assigned to the Tomahawks have been destroyed—but it might have taken more than one Tomahawk to hit them. Former secretary Lehman tells NEWSWEEK that Pentagon officials admitted the single Tomahawk's overall success rate was closer to 66 percent. And an enemy with better air defenses might stop even more cruises.

Some of these problems will be tackled in future generations of the cruise. The Block III version, scheduled to appear in 1993, will sport faster computers that take less time to program than the present version,

The boy-toy glow surrounding high-tech weapons can obscure war's gory questions. But the cruise's fans say it actually prevents bloodshed. "If not for all the work here," says Walt Kurgas, a Titusville manager, "there would have been a lot of lost planes and a lot of POWs." Not everyone is convinced yet. "The war has made a stronger claim that high technology can work—but so far, only on the gadget level, the Nintendo level, not the strategic level," says Pike. "If the war ends with less than 1,000 Americans dead and victory, that's one thing. But if there are 8,000 dead and Saddam is still in Baghdad, people will say, 'Wasn't high tech supposed to eliminate this?'" It was. It still might. But if it doesn't, spirits might not fly so high in Titusville.

JOHN SCHWARTZ with DOUGLAS WALLER in Washington, JOHN TALIAPERO in San Diego, TODD BARRETT in Chicago, TIM PADGETT in Titusville and MICHAEL ROGERS in San Francisco



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before.







A B-52 prepares to take off for the gulf from Royal Air Force Base in Britain

# The Might and Myth of the B-52

Retrofitted with high-tech gadgets, an old warhorse is doing the dirty work of Desert Storm

**S**OMEONE OVER 30 YOU CAN TRUST. The patches B-52 crewmen stick on their flight jackets sum up their affection for the gigantic bomber known in the Air Force as the BUFF—"Big Ugly Fat Fellow." So far, high-tech fighter jets and cruise missiles have captured the headlines in the air war against Iraq. But as the U.S. war effort shifts its focus to the dug-in Iraqi troops in and around Kuwait, the American military once again finds itself relying on the B-52, a 36-year-old aircraft that has been around longer than most of its pilots have been alive.

Built to go 7,500 miles between refuelings, about 50 B-52s have attacked Saddam Hussein's forces from bases as far away as Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Britain, Diego Garcia and Louisiana. The B-52 is being asked to do what it does best: unleash nearly 20 tons of high explosives from 30,000 feet in one stunning, eardrum-puncturing, ground-rumbling run. "There is no other weapon in our inventory with the capability to drop a lot of bombs and fly great distances," says Col. David Young, who commands the B-52 operation at Minot, N.D., and logged 150 bombing missions over Southeast Asia. "The B-52 can deliver a lot of bombs in a short time, very accurately."

The B-52 is a survivor of political and doctrinal battles in Washington as well as combat. Even before the last B-52 rolled off the assembly line in 1962, Soviet advances in missiles had made U.S. policy planners question the need for it. The Air Force came up with a new manned bomber, the B-70 Valkyrie, that would supposedly travel three times the speed of sound at an altitude of 70,000 feet. The B-52 seemed doomed until the Soviets shot down CIA pilot Gary Powers's high-flying U-2 plane in 1960—demonstrating that the way to escape Soviet anti-aircraft was to fly lower, not higher. That gave the Kennedy administration, which favored missiles over bombers anyway, a reason to kill the B-70.

**Attack missiles:** The Pentagon had little choice but to keep its old warhorse in service. The B-52 was repeatedly retrofitted with new features (chart). In the early '60s, the plane got stronger wings and a new reinforced fuselage so it could absorb the shock of flying low to evade Soviet air defenses. In the early '70s, it was fitted with attack missiles, transforming the plane into a "stand off" bomber that could fire from a distance as well as drop bombs. Forward-looking infrared (FLIR) and low-

light-level TV sensors improved its low-level flight capabilities. Most planes now also include advanced anti-radar electronics, and some have an advanced navigational system that uses information beamed off orbiting satellites. Some say the model seeing action against Iraq, the B-52G, is no longer even the same plane. "It would surprise me if you found an original bolt in any of them," says Earl Tilford Jr., a visiting professor of military history at the U.S. Air Force Air Command and Staff College.

Still, flying the revised B-52 is in many ways a low-tech experience. Of its six-man crew, only the pilot and copilot ever get to look out a window. An electronic-warfare officer and a gunner share a tight spot, facing backward on the upper deck; a navigator and a radar navigator sit in a windowless space below. Despite grueling missions that can last longer than 24 hours round trip, there's no room to stand up or stretch out for a nap.

The engine noise is so deafening inside that crew members must talk to one another through headphones. The Air Force still hasn't installed modern in-flight plumbing, and crew members pointedly discourage one another from going to the bathroom. B-52 navigator Lt. David Rey compares the feeling of riding in the BUFF to going over an endless series of speed bumps. "Flying it is very tiring," he says.

Though modified for nuclear duty against the Soviets, the B-52 first saw action in Vietnam (page 48). In 1965, 27 B-52s flying from Guam hit a Viet Cong base at Ben Cat under the code name Arc Light. During the Christmas raids of 1972 over North Vietnam, B-52s dropped roughly the equivalent of a Hiroshima bomb spread out over 729 sorties against 34 targets in North Vietnam. The Christmas raids, dubbed Linebacker II, have entered Air Force lore as the blunt instrument that forced the North Vietnamese to sign a peace treaty. Some argue Linebacker II "proves" the

**THE WAR  
DEADLY  
SCIENCE**



BRIAN RITCHIE—REX FEATURES

United States could have won the war if it had started dumping huge quantities of bombs sooner. But outside experts note the Arc Light strikes had little long-term impact on dispersed Viet Cong guerrillas. "It's a myth within the Air Force that B-52s won the war in 11 days," says Tilford. "And now, it's the spirit of Linebacker II that's behind Desert Storm."

The case that the B-52 could be even more effective in the gulf than in Vietnam hinges on two arguments. First, the planes

should be especially effective against a stationary force that has no outside supplier. Second, with improved accuracy, the planes can do more material and, especially, psychological damage per bomb than they did in Vietnam. The noise and blast of a B-52 strike can induce panic in troops that have never gone through one before—and no Iraqi troops ever have. Already, several Iraqi defectors have cited constant bombing as a reason to throw in the towel.

But can B-52s turn the tide? Dug-in tanks and fortifications can be killed only by what B-52 crews call "shacks"—direct hits. And the bomber's average payload of gravity bombs still only falls within several hundred feet of its target. Given the B-52's continued imprecision, the odds are that many of the gulf strikes are wasting a great deal of ordnance for every Republican Guard tank or hardened bunker they take out. Nor is their effect on troops certain. Allied reports that the B-52s are hitting the Iraqis every three hours are impressive—until you consider the vast numbers of troops Saddam Hussein has spread out over the desert. Kenneth Brower, an international research fellow at Britain's Sandhurst Royal Military Academy, estimates that B-52s could bomb the Iraqis' emplacements for months and most Iraqi soldiers

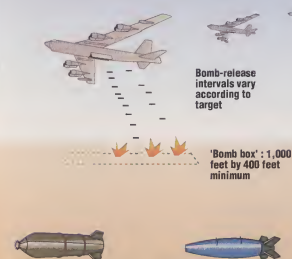
would never be hit. When Israel bombed dug-in Egyptian forces during the so-called War of Attrition in 1969-1970, he notes, it had to use eight tons of explosives for every soldier killed.

This may explain why the Air Force recently asked for more B-52s for its gulf campaign. Even so, the United States is still using fewer bombers in Kuwait than it did against North Vietnam during Linebacker II. And repeated strikes may only build up Iraqi resistance to the B-52's effects. "It's a very fearful thing. But you suddenly realize, the bombs fell within 30 feet, and I'm alive," Brower says. "By the third time it happens, you learn to stuff cotton in your ears, lie at the bottom of your trench and bear up." Brower suggests the best use for the B-52s would be against Iraq's lower-quality frontline divisions—on the day allied forces try to break through their lines. That would give the allies a chance to punch through the Iraqi lines while enemy soldiers are still reeling from their first B-52 strikes. If the B-52s fly lower, perhaps as low as 10,000 feet, they might increase their accuracy enough to blow holes in the Iraqi line. They could also be used to detonate minefields.

One weapon the Iraqis likely won't have to contend with is the American B-1 bomber

## Updating the 'Big Ugly Fellow'

The last B-52 rolled off the assembly line in 1962. Since then, it has been repeatedly upgraded to improve its accuracy and navigation. Two things haven't changed: it can still fly long distances and drop huge payloads.



**CBU-52 Cluster Bomb:** Developed in the 1960s. Splits in midair and releases clusters of bomblets which scatter and explode.

**MK 82 Iron Bomb:** Developed in the 1950s. A low-drag general-purpose bomb which can create a crater about 25 feet across and 4 to 6 feet deep.



## Major Modifications

**1950:** Stronger airframe and new flight instrumentation for low-altitude flying

**1960s:** Engineering improvements to many components, including tail section and fuselage

**1970s:** Quick-starters on engines for simultaneous ignition

**1971-76:** Electro-optical viewing system to improve hazard avoidance and damage assessment

**1971:** Under-wing pylons added for short-range missiles

**1984:** Offensive Avionics System for more accurate navigation and bomb delivery

HAMILTON—NEWSWEEK

er, of which the United States has built 100 at a cost of more than \$30 billion. In spite of the B-52's yeoman service in Vietnam, the Air Force insisted on the B-1, which it finally got when President Ronald Reagan reversed President Jimmy Carter's decision to scrap it. Ostensibly, the B-1B is sitting out the gulf war because it's needed to deter a Soviet nuclear attack. The entire SAC B-1 fleet was grounded from before the beginning of Desert Storm until just last week. And, contrary to initial claims that it would be a more flexible plane than the B-52, it

can't readily be outfitted for conventional warfare. Since it was rolled out in 1986 B-1Bs have been frequently grounded, for reasons ranging from fuel leaks to birds caught in the engine. "The best chance the B-1 has of getting to Saudi Arabia safely is if the Navy transports it there," says Democratic Sen. Patrick Leahy of Vermont.

The failures of the high-tech B-1B represents more vindication for the old reliable B-52. After the gulf war, the B-52 will face another challenge from another Air Force wonder weapon, the \$600 million B-2

Stealth bomber. But the B-52 can make one claim its competitors can't: it has literally gotten better with age. First designed to fly 5,000 hours before structural fatigue, B-52s are now expected to live for more than 30,000 flight hours. Just recently, a structural analysis by Air Force logistics officers showed that, with upgrades and modifications, the B-52 airframe can serve the Air Force well into the next century.

CHARLES LANE with DANIEL GLICK in Washington and KAREN SPRINGEN in Minot, N.D.



A hospital damaged by B-52s during the 'Christmas bombing' of Hanoi in December 1972

## In Vietnam: Remembering 'the Terror'

During the Vietnam War, B-52s dropped millions of tons of bombs on North Vietnamese targets. Last week **NEWSWEEK's** Ron Moreau, who covered the war and saw B-52 strikes firsthand, returned to Hanoi to talk to civilians and military sources about their recollections:

**A**nyone who has survived a B-52 bombing raid will never forget it. Some say it's like being caught in an earthquake, others like being struck by lightning. Still others recall its deafening roar. If the explosion doesn't kill you, the bomb's concussion can. A B-52 raid can suck the air out of your lungs and shatter your eardrums. American soldiers used to tell tales of seeing North Vietnamese soldiers who had survived a B-52 strike staggering around the moonscape of bomb craters, bleeding pro-

fusely from the nose and ears.

The residents of Hanoi's Kham Thien Street will certainly never forget the night of Dec. 26, 1972, when a B-52 destroyed a square half-mile of their neighborhood during America's massive "Christmas bombing." Nguyen Dinh Vuong, now 58, and his family were asleep when the air-raid sirens sounded at 10 o'clock. He quickly jumped into a bunker with a cement cover in front of his house; his family went to a shelter in the rear. "It was so loud, so terrible, so close, I really don't remember feeling anything," he says. Five members of his family perished in the backyard shelter. Before the direct hit, Vuong had been frightened by earthquake-like tremors from B-52 raids on military targets outside the city. "We had no idea how bad a B-52 hit could really be," he says.

The Vietnamese military, which lived for years under constant B-52 raids in the north, on southern battlefields, on the Ho Chi Minh Trail in Laos and in sanctuaries in Cambodia, has a grudging respect for the bomber. Round-the-clock B-52 raids inflicted heavy losses during the long and bloody siege at Khe Sanh in 1968. Vietnamese airfield, SAM and anti-aircraft sites were also hit hard in the north. The B-52 "is most damaging to anything that's sitting on top of the ground," says Maj. Gen. Tran Cong Man, former editor of the Vietnamese Army daily, *Quan Doi Nhan Dan*. "If you gather your forces for an attack and it hits you, it can be devastating."

But the North Vietnamese gradually learned to exploit the bomber's weaknesses. In those days the B-52 could crater large areas but was not "a

precise weapon," as General Man puts it. When B-52s were used near residential areas, they left high civilian casualties. The bomber was also vulnerable to SAM missiles. Despite flight escorts and electronic countermeasures, North Vietnamese gunners bagged 15 B-52s during the Christmas bombing. "The plane can't change direction, so we fired in front of the planes with SAMs that were set to explode at a certain altitude," General Man recalls.

On the ground, North Vietnamese forces prepared for B-52 strikes by fanning out. They dug deep bunkers for camouflage and protection. Command and control centers were sometimes located more than eight yards underground. Another ploy was to stay close to U.S. troops so American commanders would have to risk hitting their own men. "Hang onto the American soldier's belt to fight him" became a North Vietnamese motto.

In the long run, Man says, the B-52's biggest impact was as "an instrument of terror." He concedes "our soldiers had a deep psychological fear of the B-52s when they first went into battle." But he says that once they survived a few attacks, they learned to weather the punishment. He guesses that Iraq's Republican Guards may be learning to live with constant B-52 poundings as well. "The Pentagon thinks airstrikes will break the Iraqi Army's military capacity," Man says. "Bombing can weaken the Army, but it can't defeat it."

# 'High Tech' Isn't Everything

## A skeptic's view of claims for 'wonder weapons'

BY GREGG EASTERBROOK

**P**erhaps it shows that even relatively cheap U.S. weapons are better made than many people thought. Maybe it proves that at the level of overwhelming force, everything works. But the gulf air campaign has not shown what the defense lobby so often claims: that only the costliest hardware will do. In months to come lobbyists will be prowling Capitol Hill, endlessly pronouncing the virtues of expensive weapons that worked in the gulf. They will skip some of Operation Desert Storm's other lessons:

**The low-tech stuff is working as well as the high-tech.** For reasons ranging from U.S. skill to Saddam's curious strategy, everything the coalition forces throw at Iraq is going gangbusters. Older aircraft such as the A-6 and F-111 apparently are delivering precision munitions with about the same effectiveness as brand-new models like the F-15B and F/A-18. The A-6, built in the early 1960s, cost a fraction of the F-15E's \$50 million price tag, even taking into account inflation and electronic upgrades A-6s have received.

Similarly, the \$6 million A-10 anti-tank plane, long the subject of upper-echelon distaste because its performance is humdrum and its cost modest, has not only been successful attacking Iraqi tanks. A-10s have apparently flown strike missions behind the lines, a feat the Pentagon has been telling Congress only the most expensive aircraft could possibly accomplish.

**Obvious is doing just as well as stealth.** Already tech buffs are rhapsodizing about how the \$100 million F-117 stealth fighter can sneak up on targets around Baghdad without being shot down. "One of the lessons learned in the gulf has been the enormous value of stealth," Defense Secretary Dick Cheney said last week. Cheney cites the performance of the F-117 in justifying continuation of the \$850 million B-2 bomber. Others may use the example to support huge investments in the \$90 million

stealth Advanced Tactical Fighter for the Air Force, or revival of the \$100 million A-12 Navy stealth attack plane.

A small inconvenience exists for the defense lobby: old, ungainly, radar-friendly aircraft like the A-6, A-7, A-10, F-111, F-14, F-15 and B-52 are prancing through Iraqi airspace without getting shot down, either.

Before Desert Storm, the Pentagon declared Iraq in possession of one of the best air-defense networks in the world. If even

sophisticated defenses can be jammed and otherwise suppressed so thoroughly that aircraft with pulsing electronic "signatures" operate with seeming impunity, why spend many billions on radar evasion? There may be arguments for stealth technology; Desert Storm isn't one of them.

**The same trends making weapons more accurate also make targets more elusive.** Twenty years ago attacks on small objectives like Scud missile sites were unlikely to be precise enough to inflict definitive damage; now smart bombs can blast small targets. But the same kind of electronic advances that render the bombs more accurate have also given rise to the mobile missile. Twenty years ago large missiles were required for technical reasons to leap skyward from fixed launch pads that were easy to pinpoint. Now they can fly off the backs of trucks which can be maddeningly difficult to locate.

Twenty years ago the communication

facilities recently destroyed in Iraq would also have taken months or years to rebuild. Today they can be replaced in hours with mobile microwave dishes rolled out of a warehouse.

In some cases—like backyard microwave dishes being attacked by \$100 million stealth fighters—the technological counter is cheaper than the technological threat. This is one reason Saddam's superior weapons did not roll over Iran in the Iran-Iraq War. It is also one reason the coalition has not rolled over Iraq, whose military the United States outspends by as much as 50 to 1.

**Wonder weapons kill things better than people.** Smart bombs are fendishly lethal to anyone at the aim point. But they do not lay waste to huge areas. A recent Air Force video shows what appears to be six Scud transporters parked in a row; a laser bomb barrels toward the centermost of the group, obliterating it. Not mentioned: the launchers on the outside probably drove away, still working.

Though top-dollar hardware is raining on Iraq, Iraqis are probably not dying in such numbers that would shock survivors into surrender. This is good from a moral standpoint, yet means a foe may keep fighting long after seemingly irresistible force has been applied.

**The high-tech arsenal might not be as effective against a more formidable foe.** If the combined high-tech might of the Western powers has yet to make a nation as small and as poor as Iraq give in, how would these devices have performed against the adversary they were built to fight—the Soviet Union? Against the Eastern bloc, vast numbers of guns, guided missiles and fighters would have opposed deep-strike raids. Soviet electronic countermeasures would have confused targeting sensors and cross-jammed U.S. jammers.

Many more U.S. planes and cruise missiles would have been shot down, while far fewer smart bombs would have been released under conditions conducive to bull's-eye hits.

Now that an ideal-circumstances application of air power and electronic superiority has harmed but hardly routed little Iraq, perhaps the idea that gizmos can conquer all will finally be relegated to the Tom Clancy little boy's fantasy world where it belongs. Let us have no delusions that advances in smart weapons can make any nation invincible—or that any degree of technology can alter the underlying ghastliness of war.

### THE WAR DEADLY SCIENCE



An A-6 Intruder leaves a U.S. aircraft carrier in the gulf





CHRIS KLEPONSKE/NEWSWEEK

Young supporters of the gulf war demonstrate in a park near the White House

# Psychic Shock for a Generation

They're twentysomething and grappling with war

It could have been a scene out of the '60s: hundreds of young people demonstrating in front of the White House as a line of graying veterans march past in opposition. But for this encounter, just days after the gulf war started, the generations switched sides. The young people—almost all twentysomething—were passionately in favor of the war. They carried signs that read **BE A PATRIOT, NOT A SCUD**. The veterans, many of them scarred and wounded survivors of Vietnam, stared in disbelief. "They don't know what they're talking about," said one vet in his 40s. "They're just children."

Months from now, when the guns are still once again, young Americans who came of age after the end of the Vietnam War may indeed find that their childhood officially ended on Jan. 16. Whether they are for or against the war—or still trying to figure out where they stand—the fighting in the gulf has been a profound psychic shock. They have watched brothers, sisters and longtime buddies ship out. They worry

about the possibility of a draft (box). They may soon see loved ones coming home in body bags. War is no longer merely the stuff of history books but part of their own personal histories. "I grew up in a very secure time," says 18-year-old Bonnie Mixon, a freshman at Trinity University in San Antonio, Texas. "But I don't know if you can ever prepare a generation for war." Her boyfriend and eight of her friends are in Saudi Arabia. "I would hope," she says, "that it's not necessary for every generation to go through a test like this."

So far, young adults' opinions about the war appear to mirror those of the country as a whole: a majority support it. (Many say, however, that heavy casualties in a ground war could change their minds.) Recruiting is up—in the last week of January, 1,044 men and women volunteered to enlist in the Army, compared to an average of 662 nationwide in the last weeks of October, November and December. At Harvard Uni-

versity, a group called SUDS (Students United for Desert Storm) signed up 700 supporters in one day after the war started. At Kent State University, where four students were shot to death by National Guardsmen during a 1970 antiwar protest, the editor of the campus paper estimates that 60 percent of the students favor the war. "I feel like my generation is turning back to the World War II idea that it's honorable to fight for your country," says Kent State sophomore Michael Homula, a pro-war activist. "I see a firmness of purpose."

**ROTC chic:** Some sociologists agree that young Americans do have more in common philosophically with their grandparents, the World War II generation, than their parents, who were shaped by Vietnam. Comparisons between Hitler and Saddam Hussein convince

many young adults that the war is a just one. "Support for a war comes from a populace that thinks it must act in self-defense to prevent annihilation, or a populace that perceives a need to stamp out evil," says Tom W. Smith, director of the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago. Young adults today generally respect the armed forces. Of all age groups surveyed by Smith's center, 18- to 29-year-olds were the most likely to say they have a great deal of confidence in the military. Smith calls it "the Ronald Reagan effect." College ROTC programs, a focus of protest in the '60s, are tolerated—even admired—today. "ROTC students don't stand out as much as they did a few years ago," says Ed Walters, editor in chief of *The Hoya*, the student newspaper at Georgetown University. "In fact, if you have a class that meets at the Pentagon, it can be pretty chic to be in ROTC."

While they may be more supportive of the military than their '60s counterparts, not all young Americans are gung-ho about the war. They were raised with the fear that any war could lead to nuclear annihilation. Now they find themselves glued to their televisions, watching films of smart bombs hitting Iraqi targets. "I'm caught between feeling that war is horrible and no one else would step in to stop Saddam Hussein," says Lester Blumenthal, 23, of San Francisco. "Every headline hits me. My peers are more depressed than normal. The war is on everyone's mind."

Although a draft is highly unlikely, many still fear being forced to fight. "We've

**THE WAR  
HOME  
FRONT**



been inundated with calls from people asking what to do if the draft is reinstated," says Robert Dove of the American Friends Service Committee in Boston. Nearly 200 people tried to sign up for 60 slots at a draft-counseling training session late last month, Dove says. Wild rumors about the draft have been sweeping across many campuses. At Boston College, students have heard that the government will take all men up to age 30—even though men aren't required to inform the Selective Service of their whereabouts after the age of 26.

The war has already forced many young people to re-examine their political beliefs. Brendan Huffman, 20, a student at Santa Monica College in California, went back and forth between pro-war and antiwar stances several times before deciding that he is somewhere in the middle. "I guess you could say that I'm a former antiwar activist

who now believes that it's best to support the war effort and get it over quickly," he says. "I'll wait until the next election to take out my frustrations."

Antiwar sentiment appears strongest on predominantly black campuses. Like some black leaders, these students argue that African-Americans bear a disproportionate burden in the war: a quarter of the soldiers in the gulf are black, even though blacks make up only 12 percent of the population. At Howard University in Washington, D.C., 39 students who were in the Reserves have been called up, compared with just 10 at nearby Georgetown (both schools have about 12,000 students). "Students are concerned about their colleagues who have had to leave school to go to war," says Howard professor Ron Walters. "A lot of black students feel that racism in America has pushed a lot of

young people into volunteering for the military because they didn't have any other options." Howard students have held antiwar strikes, teach-ins and rallies. Even campus fraternities have been active in antiwar activities.

Whatever their opinions about this war, most young adults vow not to repeat what they see as the most tragic mistake of the '60s. "Those of us who have studied the Vietnam War are ashamed of the way students treated the vets when they came back home," says Amy Ellis, a senior at the University of Miami. "There is definitely a feeling among us that whether you are for or against the war, you should support the soldiers." In this war, the peace signs and the yellow ribbons stand side by side.

BARBARA KANTROWITZ with  
JOHN MCCORMICK in Chicago,  
CLARA BINGHAM in Washington and bureau reports

## Americans Won't Face Another Draft

**S**ince Operation Desert Storm began last month, speculation about reviving the draft has swept over the country faster than a squadron of F-14 Tomcats. Students protest against it in antiwar demonstrations, editors address it on op-ed pages and talk-show hosts discuss it on the radio. For all the talk, however, one point seems sorely neglected: a draft is probably not going to happen—at least not any time soon.

The reasons are both practical and political. For one, the United States may already have all the troops it needs. Out of 2 million active-duty soldiers and 1.6 million reservists and National Guardsmen, there are now about 500,000 troops in the gulf. "We have a long way to go before we'll need more forces," says Pentagon spokesman William Caldwell. Politically, conscription is about as popular as Saddam Hussein at a Fourth of July party—a point that seems not to have escaped George Bush. He told reporters last week that he has no intention of resorting to a draft.

Advocates of the current system say the all-volunteer Army ensures a willing work force, and recruitment num-



HERNAN RUBIO/MAAGNET

Conscription ended after an era of draft-card burning

bers are up since the war began. And, even if enlistment slackens, the war might be over before a new draft could be implemented. Some legislators argue that even if conscription were instituted today, it would be of little use in solving immediate problems in the gulf. New recruits would have to spend months in training. And a draft wouldn't produce the doctors and other skilled personnel that the armed forces are desperate for. "The people who we have registered for the draft we don't need, and what we need, we don't have," says Democratic Rep. Pat Schroeder.

But some lawmakers and government officials believe a draft might become necessary in the unlikely event of a protracted war in the gulf. The United States ended conscription in 1973, after an era of protests and draft-card burning. New regulations have been in place since 1971, but reinstituting a draft would take an act of Congress. Under the new law, student exemptions would be all but eliminated and hardship deferments, frequently awarded during the Vietnam War, would be scarce. Men turning 20 in each calendar year in which the draft is in effect would be the first to be called.

Proponents of such a plan argue that it is the only equitable way to build a nation's defenses. A draft treats everyone—from investment bankers to ditch diggers—equally and would help ensure that more middle- and upper-class Americans would have to serve in the military. (During the Vietnam era, however, many well-to-do Americans found ways to beat the draft.) Some say the draft may also be a way to discourage military adventurism. "If we had had the draft, I don't think there would have been this tremendous commitment of troops to the Persian Gulf in the first place," says Charles Peters, editor of *The Washington Monthly*. "George Bush's friends would have called him up and said, 'Well, George, it's August and Jason, my son, can't stand the heat of the desert.'"

Yet with the threat of a ground war looming, Americans worry about what the future holds. At the Selective Service headquarters in Washington one day recently, a woman phoned to ask if her grandson could get a deferment for having braces on his teeth. Even before a draft becomes a realistic prospect, many Americans are already exploring ways to beat it.

ANNETTA MILLER with  
CLARA BINGHAM in Washington



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# Is Bush's Team Up to It?

Despite the recession, his economic advisers look stronger than ever

**B**y all rights, George Bush's economic advisers should be goners. A million jobs have disappeared since last June. Business investment is plummeting. The savings and loan crisis, supposedly "solved" in 1989, grows more costly by the day. Bank failures have become routine news. Less than four months after striking an agonizing deal with Congress to raise taxes and hold down spending, the administration projects this year's budget deficit at a stupefying \$318 billion.

So is it farewell to Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady and budget director Richard Darman, Federal Reserve Board chairman Alan Greenspan and chief economic adviser Michael Boskin? Don't bet on it. After two years in power, Bush's economic team is looking stronger than ever.

The Gulf war, of course, is the key reason Bush's economic policies are being spared the withering criticism normally aimed at any administration presiding over a recession. Only now, six months after the economy slid into recession, is the pressure mounting for Bush to prove that he has as much interest in fighting unemployment as he does in fighting Saddam Hussein.

Bush's advisers have had much to do with creating an aura of good feeling after last fall's acrimonious budget negotiations. When Bush finally retreated from his campaign pledge of "no new taxes" in return for a far tighter lid on spending, many Republicans in Congress rejected the deal as a sellout of their commitment to hold down taxes. It's the majority Democrats, however, who have reason to grouse: they surrendered their ability to mount their customary attack against cutbacks, and they cannot make major changes because the agreement locks in outlays on entitlements and discretionary programs through 1995. "It was widely touted as a victory for the Democrats in Congress," recalls Isabel Sawhill, a budget expert at the Urban Institute. "But if the Democrats won the battle, it now



Unveiling the budget: Brady, Darman and Boskin win plaudits on Capitol Hill

appears the Republicans won the war." That has turned the annual budget slugfest into a shadow match: for the first time in a decade, a spending package from the White House was not declared dead on arrival on Capitol Hill. In hearings last week, legislators from both parties went out of their way to praise the very budget director they lambasted last fall. The budget "has pieces of tactical brilliance in it," admits

Robert Reischauer, director of the Congressional Budget Office. Says Darman: "Not only am I happy with the budget, but increasingly so is everyone else."

The administration is following up that initial victory with other moves on the economic front. Last Tuesday, Brady presented a sweeping plan to restructure the banking industry, winning a surprisingly warm reception. This week the administration

will announce its long-delayed energy strategy, and Boskin's Council of Economic Advisers will release its annual report—which, unlike the 1990 version, is expected to stress the government's obligation to aid the disadvantaged, taking dead aim at the Democrats' claim that Republican policies are unfair to the poor and the middle class.

**Cordial relations:** Boskin, Brady, Darman and Greenspan have worked out a paradoxically testy but cordial relationship that permits their talents (and egos) to flourish even as Washington gossips about who's in and who's out. All have direct personal relationships with



Bad sign: One more empty building testifies to a weak economy



RICHARD FALCO—SIIPA

### Fearing the future: As unemployment lines grow, Greenspan comes under fire

George Bush and all are pragmatists—two factors that have helped keep their frequent intellectual disagreements from degenerating into personal grudges.

Darman is undoubtedly the most controversial of the bunch. Many complain of his arrogance, but almost everyone in Washington admires his political savvy, his detailed knowledge of budget procedures and his skill at laying out the facts to his best advantage. "There's less information in this budget than in any budget I've seen in years," marvels Stanley Collender, a former congressional budget expert. "It's brilliantly done, absolutely brilliantly done." Until recently, the days before the budget release saw a flood of news stories leaked by agencies unhappy about their allocations. This year, not even Brady got a look at the final version of the seven-pound document until it was made public.

**Hardly ruffled:** That slight hardly ruffled the Treasury secretary, despite his position as the administration's chief economic spokesman. Brady, a fellow Yale alumnus who has known Bush since 1975, shrugs off criticism from Washington insiders, mostly on the Republican right, that his department is ineffectual. "I'm not running for anything but the city limits," he quips. Most recently, Brady incurred conservatives' wrath by counseling Bush against a renewed attempt to reduce tax rates on capital gains, arguing that the benefits were not worth the political cost. Brady may deserve part of the blame for the precipitous regulatory changes that suddenly left many banks on the brink of insolvency, and his new proposal to give Treasury an even stronger role in bank regulation worries some who fear political intrusion. But he has shown an eagerness to tackle complex issues—Third World debt, futures-market regulation, the savings and loan crisis—that hold no political attraction.



WALLY MCANES—NEWSWEEK

Boskin, a political novice, has proved a surprisingly influential force in the administration—due, at least in part, to his status as Bush's frequent tennis partner. He had a major role in holding down the cost of last year's Clean Air Act, and energy strategists dropped the idea of tough efficiency standards for new cars after the Council of Economic Advisers calculated that one plan would cost up to \$80 for each barrel of oil saved. "Boskin has provided a lot of credibility to the council, where the council in the Reagan administration was headed into oblivion," says a Democratic admirer.

Greenspan, a Reagan holdover, is the odd man out on the economic policy team. Brady, in particular, has taken the Fed chairman to task for keeping too tight a lid on the money supply, driving the economy into recession. Although the two men talk almost daily, the public relationship between the Treasury and the Fed "is appalling," says a former Fed official. The latest row: Bush's appointment of Greenspan to head a committee to study capital-gains taxes. Many fear that job will politicize the Fed

chairman's role, but Greenspan, whose term as chairman expires in August, was in no position to decline.

Some of the intramural strife is rooted in philosophical differences. Darman, Brady and Boskin believe that the economy can grow about 3 percent a year over the long term, while Greenspan thinks inflation will rise if growth gets beyond 2.25 percent for long. Greenspan flatly blames the recession on the drop in consumer confidence due to the gulf war, implying that it may be hard for the Fed to restore growth simply by pushing interest rates down. Brady disagrees. And while Greenspan frets about a postwar boom that could rekindle inflation if the money supply isn't held down, Brady counters: "Most of inflation is in the services area, where you can't drive it out by monetary tools."

Monetary-policy decisions are not Greenspan's alone. Even if he were willing to ease more quickly, the presidents of the 12 regional Federal Reserve banks, several of them anti-inflation hawks, might well block the way.

**Hands off:** Is the team up to the task of taming the recession? All believe the government should not use its spending and taxing powers for that purpose, leaving recession-fighting to the Fed. "They are hoping that there are forces in the economy that'll cure the recession by itself," complains House Budget Committee Chairman Leon Panetta. "I would fault them in not doing more to propose unemployment relief," adds Rob-

ert Greenstein of the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. "Even if the recession is over in five or six months, there's still going to be substantial unemployment for a couple of years."

Congressional Democrats want to channel additional help to workers who have used up their 26 weeks of unemployment benefits, and some are lining up behind a proposal by New York Sen. Daniel Moynihan to cut the social-security payroll tax rate while extending the tax to earnings above the current \$53,400 limit. Yet many liberals share the administration's view, along with its expectation that the recession will be short. "I don't think there's serious discussion about antirecession spending policies, nor should there be," says Alice Rivlin of the Brookings Institution. At the moment, the administration's optimism seems justified. If the downturn deepens, however, the Bush team's hands-off policy will leave the initiative once again to the Democrats on Capitol Hill.

MARC LEVINSON AND RICH THOMAS  
in Washington



# A Slow Fix for the Banks

## Bush's plan hardly touches deposit insurance

BY ROBERT J. SAMUELSON

**Y**ou're forgiven if you skipped the Bush administration's plan to overhaul the banking system last week. Let's face it: bank reform is deadly dull and hugely complex. But pay attention anyway. It matters. Sooner or later, something like the Bush proposal—which expands bank powers and toughens some federal regulation—is needed to strengthen banks and protect the federal deposit insurance fund from massive losses.

It's no quick fix. Even if Congress instantly adopted the plan (and that won't happen), it wouldn't rescue many already ailing banks. Although most of the nation's 12,400 banks are healthy, roughly 1,000—including some major banks—are not. Their problems mostly reflect poor management: they made a lot of bum loans. But outdated government regulation allowed the troubles to occur.

Historically, each of our major bank reforms has repaired the failure of the previous reform. In the Great Depression, Congress created the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. (initial coverage: \$5,000) to prevent bank panics. In fact, the Federal Reserve had been created in 1913 to do precisely that by providing besieged banks with ample cash to calm nervous depositors. But the Fed couldn't cope. Between 1930 and 1933, two fifths of the nation's 23,679 banks failed.

**Lost discipline:** Unfortunately, yesterday's solution is today's problem. Every banking system requires two things. The first is confidence. If depositors lack it, banks can't count on stable funds with which to make loans. The second is discipline. Without it, bank managers may waste funds on stupid or speculative loans. The trouble is that the steps Congress took in the 1930s to instill confidence have eroded bankers' discipline.

By shielding depositors from bank mistakes, the FDIC paradoxically provides banks with funds to make mistakes. Depositors don't discriminate. They don't favor prudent banks or shun high fliers.

This was a major cause of the savings and loan debacle.

What compounds the banks' problem is the loss of their commanding position in the financial system. Between 1950 and 1989, U.S. banks' share of all loans and investments slipped from 50 to 24 percent. Some of the banks' best customers now go elsewhere. For example, many blue-chip companies borrow in the commercial paper market rather than rely on bank loans. To fill the gap, some banks turned to riskier borrowers: developing countries in the 1970s and real-

these banks fail, the FDIC usually protects all depositors out of fear that inflicting losses might trigger mass withdrawals of big deposits at other banks—and thereby create a crisis. Brady's plan would perpetuate this practice.

To strengthen banks, he offers a bargain: more powers in exchange for stricter regulation. Banks could branch across state lines. Some bank holding companies could sell mutual funds, write insurance and deal in stocks and bonds. Meanwhile, banks would face penalties—restrictions on dividends and growth—if they fell below minimum capital requirements, to be 8 percent by 1993. (Capital is shareholders' and outside investors' money.) If capital fell too low, banks would be closed before losses had to be made up by the FDIC. Now banks aren't shut until all capital is exhausted.

**Big savings:** If banks aren't profitable, they won't be sound. Although many banks operate across state lines, they typically must have separate corporations in each state. The Brady plan would allow this costly system to be scrapped. Duplicative overhead—computers, staff—could be cut. Interstate mergers would also be encouraged. Lowell Bryan, a consultant with McKinsey & Co., thinks cost savings could ultimately total \$10 billion to \$15 billion annually. If true, that would help bank profits, which totaled \$15.7 billion in 1989.

Details are crucial. Bryan and some others think banks should be split into two parts. One would qualify for FDIC insurance and would be restricted to less risky lending. In Bryan's scheme, it could invest in U.S. Treasury securities, consumer loans and medium-size business loans. All other loans and investments would be made by a separate entity, where it would be made clear—perhaps by a minimum deposit of \$10,000 or more—that deposit insurance and "too big to fail" didn't apply. Presumably, the insured bank would pay lower interest rates on deposits.

Congress will debate these and other details. It will also worry about the FDIC's ability to cover the losses of already weak banks. The agency claims that higher payments from healthy banks (which finance the FDIC) can avert a taxpayer bailout. But these matters shouldn't stalematale the debate over long-term reform. Banks need both more freedom and more regulation. A slow fix is better than no fix at all.



The 1930s: Bank runs caused Congress to protect savers

estate developers in the 1980s. In both cases, huge loan losses resulted.

The dilemma of reform is how to restore financial discipline without destroying depositor confidence. The administration's plan—crafted by Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady—errs on the side of maintaining confidence. It hardly touches deposit insurance. The plan would limit any depositor to no more than two insured accounts at any one bank (a regular account and a retirement account). But people could still have as many insured accounts as they wanted by spreading them among many banks.

A trickier issue involves the "too big to fail" doctrine. In theory, the FDIC insurance covers only three quarters of banks' deposits. The rest exceed the \$100,000 cutoff. Actually, most deposits are protected. The "uninsured" deposits are concentrated at major banks. When





RICHARD BOSS

Cracked mud flats and closed hatcheries: Dessicated reservoir north of Los Angeles

# The Long, Dry Winter

California is suffering the worst drought since the 1930s, and cities and farms are at war over water

In posh Santa Barbara, once lush lawns have become mottled plains of scorched earth. Streams are now cracked mud flats, their fish extinct and hatcheries closed indefinitely. San Francisco Bay has lost half the fresh water that used to flow into it. During 1990 drought-related causes killed some 5 billion board feet of timber. As California's newly elected Gov. Pete Wilson joked last week, to fulfill his place in history he will have to learn to turn wine into water.

The Golden State is suffering its most prolonged dry spell since the seven-year Great Drought of the 1930s, and that is grim news for a region where water is destiny. Precipitation over the last year is 73 percent below normal, reservoirs stand at or near record lows and snowpack in the Sierra Nevada measures 13 percent of normal. And yet this desert has startling oases. Acre upon acre in California's 400-mile-long San Joaquin Valley will soon be ablaze with the ivory petals of almond trees and pink cherry blossoms. In the Sacramento Valley, enough water floods some rice fields to make Vietnamese refugees feel they never left home. Clearly, the

crisis is not about rainfall alone. "The water's there," says Rep. George Miller, Democrat from Contra Costa. "The problem is how it's allocated."

California is basically a desert, and for generations water barons have taken extraordinary measures to disguise that fact. They have purloined water and dammed it, held it in 1,200 reservoirs and funneled it

down aqueducts from northern rivers, pumped it 3,000 feet over the Tehachapi Mountains to the parched basins of the south (map) and piped it onto fields growing monsoon-climate crops. "We pretended we're Florida without rain," says Marc Reisner, author of "Cadillac Desert," a book about the West's water woes.

Now engineers are running out of tricks. There are few rivers left to dam, even if the strapped state budget could spare an extra few billion dollars. Desalination units, such as the one Santa Barbara is building, produce water at a cost (\$2,000 per acre-foot, enough for one average household for two years) that makes imported designer water look reasonable. Shipping water from British Columbia by supertanker, as coastal Goleta may do, might be even pricier. Prayer has the advantage of being affordable, but it would take six years of

average precipitation to bring reservoir levels up to normal.

The only short-term solution is conservation. Since 1989 San Francisco homes and businesses have been allotted only 75 percent of their usual consumption; violators are fined. Santa Barbara mandated a 45 percent cut in household and commercial water use last year and prohibits lawn watering with sprinklers—spurring some distraught residents to paint their grass green. This month Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley announced the most severe rationing in the city's history. As of March 1, households have to cut their water use 10 percent from 1990 levels; those whose meters suggest too many showers will face stiff fines. This week Wilson's "drought action team" may recommend limiting urban water use to 300 gal-

## Rain, Rain, Come Again . . .

As several cities impose water rationing, California needs six years of average rain to replenish its reservoirs.

**LITTLE RAINFALL:** So far this year precipitation in California is down to only 27 percent of the average. Runoff is down to 15 percent.

**RESERVOIR LEVELS DOWN:** The water in the state's reservoirs is at or near record low levels, with only 50 percent of the normal storage.

**SNOWPACK DOWN:** The Sierra Nevada snowpack, a key water source, is 13 percent of normal.

SOURCE: STATE OF CALIFORNIA DEPARTMENT OF WATER RESOURCES



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RICHARD ROSS

**Scorched earth:** Painting grass in Santa Barbara

lons per household daily. Now water consumption averages 200 gallons per person.

Despite such hardships, some Californians see a tiny silver lining in the nonexistent rainclouds. Last year, as they did in 1979, Santa Barbara voters rejected a plan to augment their water supplies from state aqueducts, fearing that more water would encourage much-despised population growth.

**Subsidized cows:** More than damping growth, the drought may force hard reassessments of how the state uses water. In California, "hard reassessment" is a euphemism for open season on agriculture. Until now, thriving farms in the valleys have belied the existence of a drought—and that's the crux of the problem. Long-term contracts give farms rights to water below cost. As a result, they consume a whopping 85 percent of the state's supplies while generating 3 percent of the wealth. But California's bizarre water priorities make little economic sense. The biggest users are irrigated pastures for livestock, a \$2 billion industry; irrigated (and subsidized) alfalfa—for those same (also subsidized) livestock; subsidized cotton and rice, which only Californians have the hubris to cultivate in a desert. Last in line are city dwellers and factories—a \$700 billion economy. "Agriculture gets to waste water, while everyone else has to worry whether there'll be enough," says Miller.

Farmers argue that subsidized water enables California to grow, cheaply, half the fruits and vegetables consumed in the United States. Eliminating subsidies

would push many low-value crops out of production and risk turning fields into condo developments. But there are ways to reform water policy without crippling agriculture. The first priority is creating a free market. In the Central Valley's Kern County, for instance, valuable almond trees are barely surviving at the same time that farmers to the south are flooding their acres to grow surplus alfalfa. Yet there is no easy way to shunt water to Kern. Nor can farmers sell water to parched San Diego: anyone wanting to trade or sell water rights faces huge bureaucratic hurdles. State water managers are crafting a proposal to pay farmers in the Sacramento Valley up to \$350 an acre not to plant this spring and thereby free water for southern cities. Says Robert Potter, deputy director of the State Water Resources Department, "We've had a lot of interest but no takers."

If the drought continues, "agriculture will be the sacrificial lamb," says Alan Cavaletto, who farms 400 acres of lemons and avocados in Santa Barbara County. The drought has forced out of production more than a half million of California's 9.5 million acres of crops. Last week the state announced that it will suspend water deliveries to farms, shutting off the valves that carry water from aqueducts down smaller arteries into the fields. "We have zeroed out our deliveries," says David Kennedy, director of Water Resources. This week federal officials are expected to announce a two-thirds cut in the water that farmers receive from federally run reservoirs and aqueducts. "Farmers are going to go under," predicts Fred Starrh, whose 2,600 acres of alfalfa in the San Joaquin Valley are totally dependent on state water. "There has been no water development in this state for 15 years, and now that payday has arrived, farmers are writing the check."

In fact, less water need not mean fewer bell peppers and peaches. Water is subsidized in such a way that if farmers conserve, they pay more for what they use. Changing that policy would encourage, say, more drip irrigation, which delivers minimal water directly toward plants' roots and is being used in Israel to make the Negev bloom. If farms used just 5 percent less water, experts say, the state would have no shortage. Increasing pressure from the cities may soon force farms to curb their thirst.

SHARON BEGLEY with DONNA FOOTE in Los Angeles and MARY HAGER in Washington

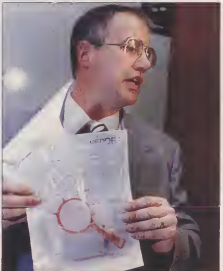
## A New Market for a Lethal Drug

It seemed like another Friday night at 138th Street and Brook Avenue in the Mott Haven section of the south Bronx. A hub for wholesale drug trade, the neighborhood draws dealers from around the Northeast who come to stock up on glassine bags of heroin at \$10 apiece. Some of their wares sold under the brand name Tango & Cash, the title of a forgettable movie about cops and drugs. But on the night of Feb. 1, the product became lethally memorable. Bronx hospitals reported a wave of heroin overdoses; emergency rooms in Hartford and Newark encountered the same. Before the weekend was over, a dozen people were dead and more than 130 hospitalized in three states. Tests showed that Tango & Cash was actually a derivative of fentanyl, a tranquilizer 20 to 30 times more potent than heroin. Police with loudspeakers cruised the streets to put out the warning: "If you have used this drug, seek medical attention immediately!"

New York police are stepping up collars of drug dealers, squeezing them for leads on the source of the "hot shots" (deadly doses). So far, there have been no arrests. While new to the Northeast, fentanyl has been linked to more than 100 deaths in California over the last 10 years. It may have come to the New York area as part of an attempt to widen the market with a more intense "designer" substitute for heroin. The surge comes amid signs of increased demand for the real thing. "We are arresting a larger percentage of people for heroin use," says Anthony Voelker, chief of the New York police's organized-crime bureau. Synthetic substitutes will only add to the cops' woes. While publicity may temporarily scare away addicts, police are prepared for the worst. Says Voelker: "Something new may have entered the drug stream."

### 'Hot shots': Cop with the deadly evidence

MIKE DERER-AP



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176 calories  
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(3.1 gms sat. fat)

### TOP ROUND

153 calories  
4.2 gms total fat\*  
(1.4 gms sat. fat)

### EYE OF ROUND

143 calories  
4.2 gms total fat\*  
(1.5 gms sat. fat)

### TENDERLOIN

179 calories  
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(3.2 gms sat. fat)

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165 calories  
6.1 gms total fat\*  
(2.4 gms sat. fat)

### BEEF AND TODAY'S HEALTH STAMPEDE

These are leaner times. Conspicuous consumption is out. The basics are back. People are eating lighter, leaner foods. And here's the whole story.

#### Calories: the inside account

The Skinniest Six cuts of beef are surprisingly lean and low in calories. In fact, three ounces of lean, trimmed beef average a mere 150 calories! Makes you stop and think. About beef

fajitas and Japanese steak salad.

#### Cholesterol: perception vs. reality

This should make headlines: lean, trimmed beef has no more cholesterol than chicken — without the skin.

While chicken does have less fat, moderate servings of beef fit easily within leading dietary guidelines.

#### Nutritional facts rounded up.

Lean beef has a high ratio of nutrients to calories. Number crunchers take note. Three ounces supply 38%

of the U.S. RDA for vitamin B-12 and zinc. Plus a generous 56% of U.S. RDA for protein. Not to mention 14% of the recommendation for iron. That's quite a mouthful.

**Wisdom to sleep by.** Nutritionists recommend a balanced, varied diet and leaner cuts of meat. Training gurus push aerobic exercise. Stress management types suggest a month in the Baha-

mas. Grilling steaks on the beach, no doubt.

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Real food for real people.



\*Sources: USDA Handbook 8-13 1990 Bros., U.S. RDA National Research Council 1980, 10th Edition. Figures are for a cooked and trimmed 3 oz. serving, 4 oz. uncooked yield 3 oz. cooked.  
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For a beef recipe booklet, write the B I C, Dept. L,

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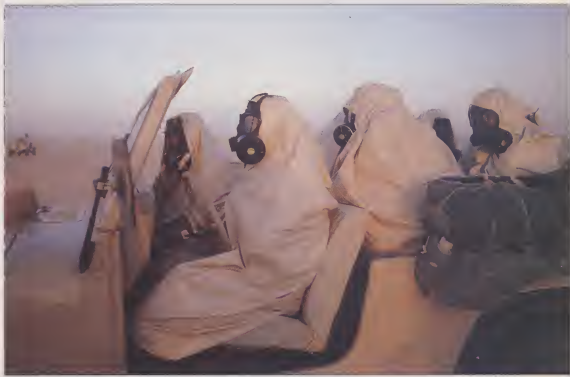
# A Guide to the Gulf

From elementary to monumental: recommended readings on the Mideast

CNN around the clock isn't enough. Even NEWSWEEK isn't enough. People want books about the Persian Gulf—they want everything they can find, including the Bible and the Koran—and they're snatching volumes from the shelves as fast as clerks can stock them. Publishers and bookstores are scrambling to meet a demand for war-related books that took off when the allies did. Orion Books, a tiny publisher specializing in military subjects, might sell a dozen copies a month of a given title. This week the company is shipping 75,000 copies of its latest title, the speedily assembled "Desert Storm: A Guide to the Hardware." And it's not just quickie paperbacks for war junkies. Major works of scholarship are moving off the shelves with an alacrity inconceivable before last summer. Even sales of Middle East fiction are getting a boost: "Palace of Desire" and "Palace Walk," by the Egyptian author Naguib Mahfouz, one of the more obscure Nobel laureates of recent years, unexpectedly jumped onto best-seller lists in San Francisco and Washington. Herewith, a reader's guide to the Middle East culled from recommendations by journalists and academics. A few are out of print; check your library.

## The War

The best-selling book on the current crisis is Jean P. Sasson's *The Rape of Kuwait* (Knightsbridge, Paper, \$4.95), with 1.2 million copies in print. An account of Iraqi atrocities in Kuwait, the book is written so simple-mindedly that the real horrors it describes seem to evaporate in the prose style. The second biggest seller, with 800,000 copies in print, is by far the more useful purchase. Judith Miller, a reporter for The New York Times, and Laurie Mylroie, a Middle East specialist at Harvard, were among the first writers out of the gate



JOHN FICARRA—NEWSWEEK

Saudi troops in training: The crisis has prompted a wave of popular interest in modern warfare

when Iraq invaded Kuwait. Their *Saddam Hussein and the Crisis in the Gulf* (Times, Paper, \$5.95) is a clear, efficient introduction to the drama now unfolding daily. The authors are particularly good at analyzing Washington's mistakes and motives in the gulf, and their conclusions about American interests in the region effectively separate the rhetoric from the reality. *Desert Shield Fact Book*, by Frank Chadwick (GDW Games/Berkley, Paper, \$10), will appeal mostly to gulf mavens who like having statistics, diagrams, maps, chronologies and glossaries at their fingertips while they're watching CNN. Another for the military buffs is *How to Defeat Saddam Hussein*, by Trevor Dupuy, Curt Johnson, David L. Bongard and Arnold C. Dupuy (Warner, Paper, \$4.95). A retired Army colonel, Trevor Dupuy fashioned this book at top speed from testimony presented to the House Armed Services Committee in December; Warner is sending it forth this week in a huge first printing of 600,000 copies. Journalists David Holden and Richard Johns give an in-depth analysis of

the country American soldiers were sent to defend last summer in *The House of Saud* (out of print), a work well written and immensely knowledgeable.

## Background

*Republic of Fear*, by Samir al-Khalil (Pantheon, Paper, \$12.95), has been called dense and hard to navigate even by its fans, but it's uniformly cited as a must read (or a must try to). The author, an Iraqi expatriate writing under a pseudonym for his own and his family's safety, describes the growth and dominance of the Baath Party and Saddam's regime, which instilled throughout Iraq the horrifying new norms of "fear, violence and conformity." David Fromkin's *A Peace to End All Peace* (Avon, Paper, \$14.95) scrutinizes the crucial years 1914-1922, when the map of the modern Middle East was drawn, and shows how the Allies laid the groundwork for years of conflict.

Daniel Yergin's *The Prize* (Simon & Schus-

ter. \$24.95) is a monumental analysis of the history and politics of oil, hence perhaps the most pertinent introduction of all to the events underway in the gulf. Engagingly written and a landmark of research into what he calls our "hydrocarbon civilization," this book would have attracted widespread notice under any circumstances; in the current climate it zoomed to the best-seller lists virtually upon publication.

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Sir Ronald Storrs's *Orientalisms (out of print)* is just the sort of book Said warns against; nonetheless it offers a wonderful look at the British in the colonial Middle East, clinging to every scrap of their peculiar glory. Storrs had a long career in various posts, including that of military governor of Jerusalem after World War I, and his memoir gives a vivid sense of how a classically educated gentleman with a love of opera did his best for king

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## Technology

For aficionados of the way we fight now, publishers are launching an abundance of books on making modern war. Among the latest is *Desert Shield*, by Robert F. Dorr (Motorbooks, Paper, \$12.95), which describes and illustrates the immense logistical operation that brought the armed forces into the desert. Peter C. Smith's *Close Air Support* (Orion, \$24.95) examines the use of air power since World War I, while *Fighter Missions*, by Bill Gunston and Lindsay Peacock (Orion, \$24.95), analyzes prototypical air-combat missions minute by minute, inviting readers to imagine themselves in the cockpit.

Two guides to the weapons being used in the gulf are coming out this month. *Desert Storm*, by UPI journalists Eliot Brenner and William Harwood (Orion, Paper, \$9), details the technology and strategy—on both sides—of fighting land, air and sea battles in the gulf. *Weapons of Desert Storm*, by Walter J. Boyne, a retired Air Force colonel (Publications International/Signet, Paper, \$7.95), is a compendium of charts and illustrations on every sort of rocket, missile, jet and tank in the conflict, including information on chemical and biological warfare. Read 'em and weep.

Laura Shapiro with Ray Sawhill and Mark Miller



Sheik Haq-Rasid of Palestine, early 1900s: There are books on Islamic attitudes about the West and Western views of Islam



it home, tracing those families through the years of Jewish settlement, war and the Palestinian diaspora, the authors give us history in that rare and memorable form—real life.

Thomas Friedman's *From Beirut to Jerusalem* (Anchor, Paper, \$12.95) won the 1989 National Book Award; current events have sent it back to the top of the best-seller list. Friedman writes compellingly about his experiences and inquiries during the years he was reporting from Lebanon and Israel for The New York Times. One of his encounters—with an Orthodox Jewish leader in Jerusalem—serves well to explain years of Middle Eastern strife. "What I reject of pluralism is the idea that we are all equally right," the leader told him. "We are not."

Perhaps the hardest thing for Western-

# Paint Misty for Me

Caspar David Friedrich comes to the Met

Although the German Romantic painter Caspar David Friedrich (born in 1774) worked mostly in the early 1800s, many of his pictures are about as *fin de siècle* as you can get. End of the day, end of life and, maybe—if all these paintings about wandering through Gothic ruins and mountain aeries don't bring about communion with Nature itself—the end of civilization. Dead for 150 years, Friedrich is the perfect painter for these times.



STATE HERMITAGE MUSEUM, LENINGRAD

The sun comes up, the world goes down: *Morning in the Mountains* (1822-23)

## Newsweek

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became a professor at its academy. Goethe was an early admirer of Friedrich's work but the painter was criticized by others, on both religious and esthetic grounds, for turning landscapes into religious meditations. The rest of Friedrich's career became a gentle downhill slide. He was neglected and bitter at the time of his death, but his reputation was revived at the beginning of this century. It grew until the Nazis held him up as a prophet of German na-



PUSHKIN STATE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, MOSCOW

The melancholic wanderer: *Ruin on the Schlossberg* (1828)

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supposed to commu-  
That leaves every-  
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l" in Dali's case, and  
b Valhalla in Frie-  
riand, Friedrich is so  
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on this side of the Atlantic, held  
dear from afar by both kinds  
of painterly romanticism—those  
moved by the vast mysterious-  
ness of a Rothko color field and  
those haunted by the explicit  
loneliness of Andrew Wyeth's  
"Christina's World." But for  
the steelier eye, there's even  
more, and it resides right in  
Friedrich's workmanship. God,  
or whatever it was he was look-  
ing for, is in the details.

PETER PLAGENS

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Caspar David Friedrich comes to the Met

**A**lthough the German Romantic painter Caspar David Friedrich (born in 1774) worked mostly in the early 1800s, many of his pictures are about as *fin de siècle* as you can get. End of the day, end of life and, maybe—if all these paintings about wandering through Gothic ruins and mountain aeries don't bring about communion with Nature itself—the end of civilization. Dead for 150 years, Friedrich is the perfect painter for these troubled times: he lets a few rays of hope shine through his portents of doom.

Friedrich has been, however, hard to come by outside Germany (the only American museum to own a painting is the Kimbell in Ft. Worth, Texas). Now the spirit of *glasnost* (albeit sinking like a Friedrich sun) has produced a succinct show, "The Romantic Vision of Caspar David Friedrich: Paintings and Drawings from the U.S.S.R.," through March 31 at New York's Metropolitan Museum. All but one of the nine paintings in the show was acquired by the Russian royal family during Friedrich's life (there are also 11 delicate drawings on view). Present are his two largest surviving works, "Moonrise by the Sea" (1821) and "Morning in the Mountains" (1822-23), but none of his melancholic biggies—like "Sea of Ice" or "Abbey in the Oak Forest." Still, Friedrich is best in small doses, and this one is the right size.

He was born in a small town on the Baltic Sea and, after studying in Copenhagen, settled in Dresden. Eventually, he became a professor at its academy. Goethe was an early admirer of Friedrich's work but the painter was criticized by others, on both religious and esthetic grounds, for turning landscapes into religious meditations. The rest of Friedrich's career became a gentle downhill slide. He was neglected and bitter at the time of his death, but his reputation was revived at the beginning of this century. It grew until the Nazis held him up as a prophet of German na-



STATE HERMITAGE MUSEUM, Leningrad

The sun comes up, the world goes down: 'Morning in the Mountains' (1822-23)

tionalism, an unfortunate endorsement that caused a postwar sputter which lasted until the 1960s. Art historian Robert Rosenblum, Friedrich's most ardent American admirer and re-rehabilitator, writes in the show's catalog: "He might well be credited as the first to capture the sense of total human isolation before the numbing mysteries of transitory life on earth." Detractors like conservative critic Hilton Kramer think Friedrich is at best the best of a bad lot of murky German Romantics, who couldn't hold a brushstroke to contemporaries like Turner, Goya and Delacroix.

The problem modern viewers have with Friedrich is that he, like Salvador Dali later, doesn't seem to do much with paint itself, except to smooth it over and over

until it's been sheened into an uptight rendering that's somehow supposed to communicate the ineffable. That leaves everything up to the iconography—a Freudian version of "Total Recall" in Dali's case, and a kind of Sierra Club Valhalla in Friedrich's. On the other hand, Friedrich is so uncorrupt a craftsman, so earnest a seeker, that he puts simply everything into every square inch of his pictures. The bright sky in "Morning" subliminally glows with five times as many subtle color variations as a lesser painter would have included. And the watercolor "Ruin on the Schlossberg" (1828) has the kind of affectionate fidelity you'd expect from an artist who walked the 35 miles from Dresden to the site.

Having first appeared at the Art Institute of Chicago, this little exhibition will be disassembled after it closes at the Met. The fragility of old paintings and the enormity of insurance premiums being what they are, it's likely that seeing Friedrich's in the foreseeable future will require trips to foreign museums. That in turn means that Friedrich will remain something of a cult figure on this side of the Atlantic, held dear from afar by both kinds of painterly romantics—those moved by the vast mysteriousness of a Rothko color field and those haunted by the explicit loneliness of Andrew Wyeth's "Christina's World." But for the steelier eye, there's even more, and it resides right in Friedrich's workmanship. God, or whatever it was he was looking for, is in the details.

PETER PLAGENS



PUSHKIN STATE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, MOSCOW

The melancholic wanderer: 'Ruin on the Schlossberg' (1828)



# Of Cannibals and Kinks

Jonathan Demme's electrifying psycho-thriller



PHOTOS BY KEN RELAN

A gutsy, driven heroine fleeing her past: Foster tracks a serial killer

Take a deep breath before descending into a darkened theater to see *The Silence of the Lambs*. This is not a movie for the faint of heart. Spun from the twisted imagination of novelist Thomas Harris, who has a clammy genius for creating serial-killer psychopaths, Jonathan Demme's terrifying thriller features one psycho, nicknamed Buffalo Bill, who murders and skins young women, and another, a former psychiatrist, who eats his victims. This is evil of a particularly baroque flourish, and readers of the novel might wonder how Demme could bring such nastiness to the screen without crossing the line of stomach-turning exploitation. You might even wonder why the maker of "Melvin and Howard" and "Something Wild" would be

drawn to such nightmarish stuff, but only if you've forgotten his B-movie roots ("Caged Heat") or his 1979 Hitchcockian excursion, "Last Embrace." Demme's justification is up there on the screen: "The Silence of the Lambs" is an electrifying exercise in suspense. One need only have a healthy appetite for fear to acknowledge that thrillers don't get much more thrilling.

Can Buffalo Bill (Ted Levine) be stopped before he kills his latest captive, the daughter (Brooke Smith) of a Tennessee senator? That's the motor that drives the plot, but the heart of the movie lies elsewhere, in the relationship between the heroine, FBI trainee Clarice Starling (Jodie Foster), and that cannibalistic shrink, Dr. Hannibal Lecter (Anthony Hopkins). Lecter, who also appears in Harris's "Red Dragon," is a great popcreation—a depraved genius with near-omnipotent insight into the minds of other serial killers. Clarice is sent by her FBI mentor, Jack Crawford (Scott Glenn), to interrogate Lecter in his high-security prison cell, hoping that he can lead her to Buffalo Bill. In return for information, what he wants from Clarice, whose ambition to escape her white-trash West Virginia roots he instantly divines, is a glimpse into her soul. The monstrous Lecter becomes her father confessor and shrink—as well as a kind of intellectual suitor. Their scenes together (shot in enormous close-up) have a horrific, weirdly erotic intimacy. He savors her confessions like a connoisseur sniffing vintage

wine. Lecter is a role any actor would kill for, and Hopkins has vicious fun with it. Still, watchful, deeply droll and infinitely sinister, he becomes the high priest of criminal psychosis.

Foster's fiercely committed performance matches him step by step. From our first sight of her running through the woods at the FBI training camp, she's a woman in constant motion—a striver grimly driven to escape her own childhood nightmares. Foster has to play her part in a perpetual state of controlled anxiety. Like the movie, she wastes no motion, giving us quick, sharp glimpses into Clarice's defensive, determined heart. It's the strongest woman's action role since Sigourney Weaver in "Aliens."

Screenwriter Ted Tally does an excellent job streamlining the novel, and Demme tightens the screws with a mastery that would make any horror veteran jealous. Superbly edited (by Craig McKay) and shot (by Tak Fujimoto), "The Silence of the Lambs" makes its cliffhangers, fake-outs and penny-dreadful devices seem newly minted: it breathes fresh, contemporary air into the damsel-in-distress genre. Even the broadest, most hackneyed character—the vain, jealous Dr. Chilton (Anthony Heald), who resents Clarice's success with "his" patient, Dr. Lecter, and gums up the investigation to satisfy his bruised ego—pays off, supplying some necessary comic relief. This is the grandest guignol Hollywood has produced in years.

DAVID ANSEN

## In Pursuit of Julia Roberts

**S**leeping With the Enemy is a flat tire of a movie. Looks good—white sidewalls, chrome spokes—but it flaps and clunks and never gets to vroom. That's fatal for a suspense thriller. Screenwriter Ronald Bass ("Rain Man") and director Joseph Ruben ("True Believer") add glitz and subtract character from Nancy Price's 1987 novel about a battered wife who flees from and is hunted down by her sadistic husband. Here the wife (Julia Roberts) and husband (Patrick Bergin) are cardboard cutouts of victim and brute. The movie is a passing pothole on Roberts's glory road, but Bergin is a different story. The thin script forces him into mere evil eye-popping and control-freak rages. Here's a potential star career that needs more work by the actor and better choices by his handlers. It would be sad for the guy who looked like a new Sean Connery in "Mountains of the Moon" to turn into a mutation of Tom Selleck.

JACK KROLL

Connoisseur of depravity: Hopkins



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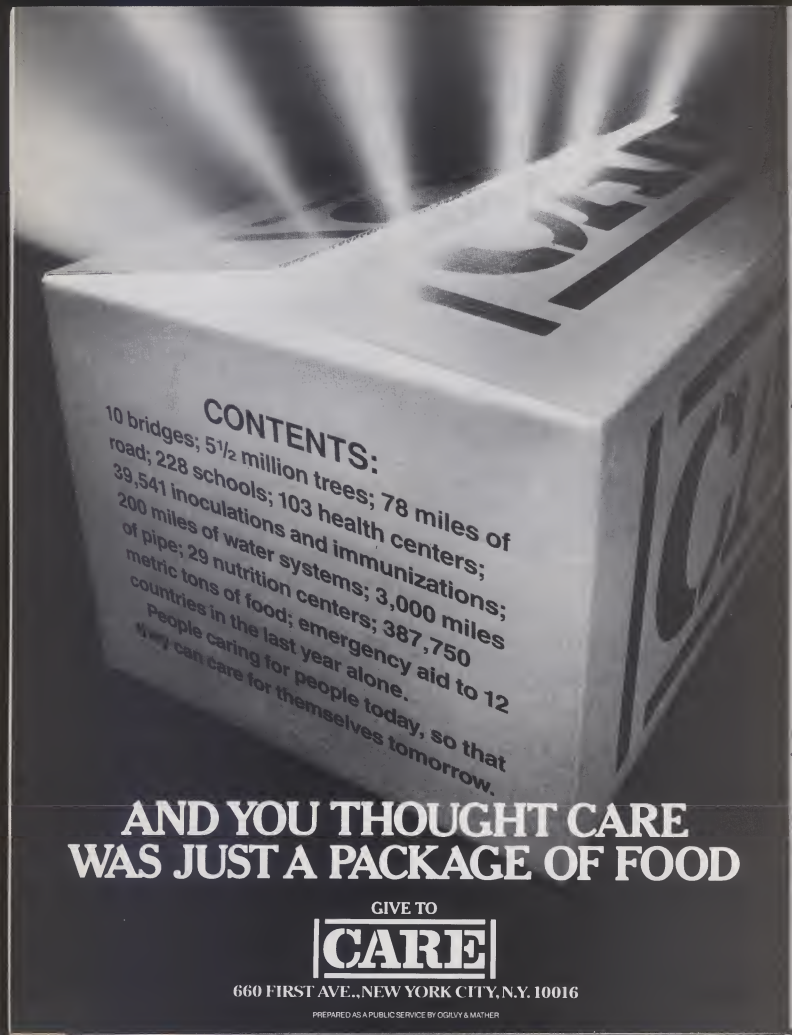
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## A Battle Royal Over Kissing and Telling

Just when royal gossip mongers were settling into an unsettling dry spell, Princess Diana's brother helpfully precipitated a major tabloid splash. Married a mere 16 months to a former model, Charles Althorp (known in the tabs as "Champagne Charlie") confessed to the Daily Mail that he had a one-night fling last year with an old girlfriend, journalist Sally Ann Lason. Actually, the 26-year-old viscount was attempting a pre-emptive strike: he had learned from Lason that she had sold her story of their tryst to the rival News of the World. What Althorp didn't realize was that the paper was nervously sitting on its scoop. But when his own confirmation surfaced in the Mail—*ka-boom*, tabloid blowout! CHARLIE THE CAD DROVE ME WILD WITH HIS KISSES, squealed one headline amid the News of the World's five full pages on the scandal.



News of the World is that Charlie cheated: Althorp en famille

Though Althorp's wife, who gave birth to a daughter in December, dutifully proclaimed her forgiveness of her hub, the rest of the royals may be less compassionate. For the brother-in-law of the future

king of England to publicly reveal his infidelity—in a tabloid, no less—seems a faux pas just short of treasonous. We await the movie treatment, certain to be titled "Lason Dangereuse."

TIM GRAHAM—SYGMA

## The Gipper's 80-Year Run

So what if the guest of honor smeared his tuxedo with frosting from his 80th-birthday cake? The crowd ate it up and, by golly, Ronald Reagan can still draw a heck of a crowd. Helping the former president celebrate at a Beverly Hills bash last week—for \$2,500 per plate to benefit the Reagan library—were Margaret Thatcher, Dan Quayle, Elizabeth Taylor, Jimmy Stewart, Liza Minnelli and lots of cabinet members. After leading a prayer for U.S. troops in the Persian Gulf, the old showman borrowed a line from Jack Benny: "This is my 41st anni-

versary of my 39th birthday." Yup, they ate up that one, too.

HARRY WATERS  
LESTER SLOAN—NEWSWEEK



Frosted: Liz arrives (left), Reagan mops up for Nancy

REED SAXON—AP

## TRANSITION

**ENGAGED:** Actress Sharon Gless, 47, and television producer Barney Rosenzweig, 53; in Los Angeles, Feb. 4. Gless and Rosenzweig worked together on "Cagney and Lacey" for six years. This fall, they created "The Trials of Rosie O'Neill."

**DIED:** Comedian and actor Danny Thomas, 79; of a heart attack, in Beverly Hills, Calif., Feb. 6. Born Muzayab Yakhooob, the son of Lebanese immigrants, Thomas made his name as a nightclub comedian and as the star of the 1950s TV hit "Make Room for Daddy" (later called "The Danny Thomas Show"). The show mimicked Thomas's life on the road away from his wife, Rose Marie, and their children Marlo, Terre and Tony. His special talent in his club act was storytelling—a gift that grew out of listening to the tales of his Lebanese relatives. But show business was not Thomas's only passion. When he was still a struggling radio actor, he called on Saint Jude, patron saint of hopeless causes, to "help me find my way in life." In return, he promised to build the saint a shrine. Thomas founded St. Jude Children's Research Hospital in Memphis, Tenn., in 1962.

**James L. Knight, 81,** cofounder of the Knight-Ridder newspaper group; of a respiratory ailment, in Santa Monica, Calif., Feb. 5. Knight and his brother inherited one troubled Ohio paper and built an empire that now includes 29 daily newspapers.

**The Rev. Pedro Arrupe, 83,** head of the Society of Jesus from 1965 to 1983; of cardiac pulmonary failure, in Rome, Feb. 5. He led the Jesuits through one of the most turbulent periods in their 450-year history.

**Actress Nancy Kulp, 69;** of cancer, in Palm Desert, Calif., Feb. 3. Kulp was best known for her role as bank secretary Jane Hathaway in "The Beverly Hillbillies."

# Puncher vs. Preacher

At 42, the Rev. George Foreman gets set to reclaim the heavyweight crown

BY CHARLES LEERHSEN

**O**n the gray mid-January day when he began training for the most weirdly attractive title fight in many a decade, George Foreman felt "somewhat upset." This would come as no surprise to his first sparring partner, a young, Houston-based heavyweight who hours later might well have written, "Dear Diary, Today I was pounded into the canvas like a common carpet tack. Funny, but the weatherman had said nothing about a chance of anvils."

Nor would most people think it odd for a professional prizefighter to be fighting mad. Ex-champ Mike Tyson, still the quintessential boxer in the minds of many, has worked hard to promulgate the notion that he is, for all practical purposes, anger in black satin shorts. Bulls like the 270-pound Foreman are supposed to rage. But big George says that being 42 years old changes everything; he has finally put boxing in perspective. This day, in fact, it was a matter of historical accuracy that had him riled.

"He's reading Robert Caro's book about LBJ," an aide said. "And he doesn't like the negative way Johnson is portrayed." Egad, wait till Foreman hears that an assistant trainer hasn't yet found him a copy of "War and Peace." "George really wants that book," the aide said. First, though, he needed a new sparring partner. His original one was limping off—and posing one of boxing's eternal questions, a query that has cropped up often since Foreman set out in middle age to reclaim the title he lost to Muhammad Ali in Zaire back in 1974: "Ow, man, does anybody have any ice?"

Evander Holyfield, the current champ, is as well coached as his opponent is well read. By the time he enters the ring on April 19 to fight Foreman, his staff will no doubt have him as finely tuned as Yo-Yo Ma's favorite cello. He employs a nutritionist, a weight-lifting consultant and a female ballet teacher (for flexibility), in addition to the usual fistic advisers. Very much the modern athlete, he takes aerobics classes, hikes for miles on the Stairmaster and shadowboxes underwater. As a result, Holyfield, with his broad shoulders and 31-inch waist, is a pleasure to behold and, at 28, a force to reckon with: his pro record is 25-0 with 21 knockouts. Yet, alas, he also serves as a rippling reminder that perfection is always a bit boring.

The Great American Memory, unless jogged, contains exactly no Holyfield highlights. The semifinal of the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics remains his most notable bout. Holyfield, then a light-heavyweight, knocked down his New Zealander opponent in round two. The Yugoslav referee, eager to keep alive the Olympic tradition of bizarre boxing decisions, ruled that Holyfield had thrown the punch after an order to break, and disqualified him on the spot. From Seattle to Miami, Americans were

bouncing out of their BarcaLoungers and demanding a hearing before an international tribunal. Holyfield's reaction was to stoically accept his bronze medal and go home to Atlanta.

Then there was his match against Buster Douglas last October. Holyfield came prepared, kept his hands up the way he'd been taught to at the Atlanta Boys Club—and, as usual, left without making a lasting impression. It was Buster who stole the show by being fat and—once Holyfield had knocked him down in the third round—cowering on the canvas.

**Real deal:** Who would have guessed that would be a canny PR move? Or that Holyfield, who calls himself "The Real Deal," would lose his nickname rights to Louisiana State basketball star Shaquille O'Neal, who has more charisma plus a better sense of rhyme? So far the match with Foreman is shaping up as one might expect, with Holyfield playing the Bland Bomber. Asked how he'll handle Foreman—who has developed an unorthodox way of cross-



WILL HART

Spoils of war: Champ Holyfield's belts





WILL HART (LEFT); MIKE POWELL—ALLSPORT (ABOVE)



HOLLY STEIN—ALLSPORT (ABOVE); WILL HART (RIGHT)

**Let us prey:** Holyfield shows a chubby Douglas his bread-and-butter punch (top), Foreman tangles with a hapless Adilson Rodrigues



ing his arms to shield his body and head, a stance that allows him to rain blows down from a spectacularly high angle—Holyfield says, "Just be there at the fight."

Quick, call in a quote coach. Although Holyfield is expected to clear a reported \$20 million for the match to the challenger's \$12.5 million, a few hard-hitting sound bites wouldn't discourage the pay-per-view customers, whom Time Warner's cable division, TVKO, is charging close to \$40 a pop. How about a simple-yet-provocative "I'll match my body-fat ratio against any man's in the room"—or a '90s variation on the old Joe Louis line: "He can run, but he can't Jazzercise"?

Foreman—who is using his boxing income to support the youth center he operates on the outskirts of Houston, the small church where he serves as a pastor and his nine children—wouldn't object if Holyfield helped with the hype. "He reminds me of myself 15 years ago," Foreman says, with a sigh. "He takes instructions like a robot, then gives you all that fight talk like, 'I'm


gonna whup this guy so bad.' But that's out of style. I learned a while ago that when a water truck goes down the street no one pays attention. But when a fire truck comes along, wow, women come out in their curlers, and men in their underwear, just to see what's going on. That's what I want to be in life, that fire truck."

**Weight jokes:** A couple more cheeseburgers from the local Dairy Dream, a red sweater, and he's there. Foreman says he doesn't care about his weight or the jokes it inevitably inspires. "I run 10 to 17 miles a day, so I know I'm in shape," he says. "Besides, dieting interferes with my sense of contentment, which is worse than being heavy." As for the writers who have referred to him as a whale and a buffoon, "If I get upset with them, then what can I say to my own kids? My daughter, the other day, said, 'Daddy, I thought I was watching sumo wrestling on TV and it turned out to be you.'" Many more people, he says, "think I look cute like their Uncle Ralph or their grandpa."

So he has come full circle. A lifetime ago, it seems, George arrived on the scene looking lovable, at least to a majority of white Americans. Every sports fan of a certain age carries a Foreman photo album in his head. It starts with the famous shot of George displaying the American flag (and, significantly, no black-power fist) after winning the gold at the 1968 Mexico City Olympics. The next image is probably that of Foreman spreading the supposedly unbeatable Joe Frazier around the ring like Philadelphia cream cheese. That was George as he liked to see himself then—a legitimized version of the young thug who had terrorized Houston's Fifth Ward. The final photo, for most people, is of George stumbling in the jungle on the night rope-adope was born. Ali, in a stunning upset, knocked him out in the eighth round.

Holyfield was 10 at the time, the youngest of eight children, a nice kid on his way to being a levelheaded teen who sold Cokes at Braves games and graduated from Fulton County High. He didn't like boxing at first,





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but he has a dim memory of a younger Foreman and "a style that was just brute strength." He doesn't see how George has changed much since then, except to be a bigger target. "He's going to come straight ahead," Holyfield says, "and he is not going to get out of the way. I'm not going to miss a shot. It's as simple as that. I'm going to work his body, move around, make his weight work against him." Foreman, in reply, points out that Holyfield has never been known for his defensive skills. "This man has shown a willingness to be hit, and that's not good," he says. "Boxing is all about hitting—and not being hit."

**Pet lions:** Foreman has traveled a long way to get back to these basics. His first move, after losing to Ali, was to blame his performance on a water bottle spiked with "whoopie powder." Then he had himself photographed lifting a live steer and stroking his pet lions. Next he starred in a freakish TV special in which he fought five opponents on the same night. Finally, on a steamy evening in San Juan, Puerto Rico, in 1977, Foreman lost a decision to the weak-punching Jimmy Young, came back to the dressing room and collapsed. His handlers insist he was suffering from heat prostration. Foreman says he experienced a vision of "nothingness, darkness, along with the horrible smell of sorrow." Upon waking, he turned his life over to God and became a preacher, setting eventually at his Church of the Lord Jesus Christ. For the next 10 years, he says, "I did not ball my fist."

Since his comeback, he has faced 24 men, and 24 have been defeated, 23 by knockouts. It can be said, with some justification, that only Andy Warhol has made more money with tomato cans. Yet Holyfield has not pitted himself against any living legends, either.

Until now, Foreman came back, he says, because he got tired of passing the plate around to scrounge up a few dollars. He wasn't broke personally; he simply had the means to make serious money, and he thought he should use it. In the interim, his moral objections to boxing vanished. There is now something Zen-like about his approach. "When I'm running, when I'm sparring, I'm thinking only about those things and I'm enjoying it," he says. "I don't think anymore about working myself up into a fit of hatred toward another human being." In boxing terms he is otherworldly: his head is shaved and his punches often inscribe outlandishly long arcs. Like planets on a summer night, they are surprisingly easy to see out there, orbiting ever closer. But because they were launched without fear or malice, they are not tempered by guilt or shame. And this makes them deliciously dangerous.

Foreman in five.

With HOWARD MANLY in Atlanta

## MEDICINE

# Savings Plan for a Generation

### Off to war, after a detour to the sperm bank



LESTER SLAAN—NEWSWEEK

**Frozen assets:** California Cryobank storage tank

**B**anking on the future" has taken on a new meaning for some military families. In recent months, at several sperm banks around the United States, men have been stopping in to make deposits before shipping out to the gulf. Some, along with their wives, were already participating in a fertility program, but many are simply making what amounts to a genetic will. Second Lt. Chuck Silcox, 32, now serving in Saudi Arabia, left two sperm samples at Xytex Corp. in Augusta, Ga. "Knowing that he's going to be in a potentially dangerous situation," says his wife, Magen, "I wanted to make sure that I could still have children. His children."

That is, literally, cold comfort. Typically, semen is kept in canisters and stored, frozen, in tanks of liquid nitrogen. Though it deteriorates slightly over time, sperm can be preserved safely for more than a decade. In the past, most men who banked sperm were about to have vasectomies or undergo chemotherapy, or had hazardous jobs—cops, hockey players. Though servicemen aren't stampeding to sperm banks, significant numbers have made inquiries. "It's a very practical way of dealing with concerns about chemical warfare, injury or death," says Barbara Raboy, executive director of

Oakland's Sperm Bank of California. "I feel the war will give a boost to sperm banks."

It already has. Since the start of the gulf war, a number of uniformed depositors have left something behind at SBC, California Cryobank in Los Angeles has gone from no requests from military personnel to about 25 a week. In the last four months, the San Diego office of the Fertility Center of California has taken about 300 calls from servicemen and their wives or girlfriends, a 900 percent increase. (There is talk of servicewomen harvesting their eggs, but the process is more difficult than collecting semen.) To date, sperm warfare has been centered in California—elsewhere, some banks report more queries from the media than from the military—but it could escalate. Patriotic-minded facilities are even offering military discounts. The Fertility Center Laboratory in San Antonio, Texas, is charging servicemen \$250 for two years of storage (civilians pay \$400 annually), but no one has taken FCL up on the offer. Says a spokesman for nearby Brooks Air Force Base, "People here are kind of shy."

**Terror:** Modesty may be a deterrent for many, but military men who do decide to bank their sperm—often at the urging of their wives—are dealing with a more significant emotion: terror. "Some of these guys are feeling not only frightened but rather helpless in terms of being able to change events," says Dr. Charles Grob, assistant clinical professor of psychiatry at the University of California Irvine Medical Center. "This gives them a sense of some control. They've managed to kind of defy their own mortality by leaving something of themselves behind that will live." Most servicemen are still reluctant to exercise an option presented by the brave new world. California Cryobank CEO Vincent Wayne is sympathetic. "You don't want to be the prophet of doom and gloom," he says. "You want to paint the positive side and say, 'If we have to fight it, everybody's going to come home.'"

KATRINE AMES with JEANNE GORDON  
in Los Angeles, MICHAEL MASON  
in Atlanta and bureau reports



# The Sorrows of Werner

For the founder of est, a fresh round of charges

In the 1970s, when war-weary Americans began turning to thoughts of self-improvement, along came just the vehicle they seemed to be looking for: the human-potential movement. The movement's smashing success story was something called est (Erhard Seminars Training), run by a former used-car salesman named Werner Erhard. For a few hundred dollars plus a lot of verbal abuse and physical deprivation, est offered a "transforming experience," designed to "get rid of old baggage" and provide a fresh slant on things. "Your life doesn't work," a trainer might bellow for openers at one of est's marathon encounter sessions. "Wipe that stupid smile off your face, you a-hole." It was heady stuff, and most of the estimated 700,000 paying customers who signed up (at \$250 to \$625 a head) for est or its Yuppified 1980s version, The Forum, agreed they'd been transformed—or something.

Most, but not all. Over the last 10 years, Erhard has found himself under an increasing barrage of allegations that he was running not so much an enlightenment program as an authoritarian cult. Former disciples have come forward with stories of violence and intimidation by Erhard and his staff. Last year, after a longtime member of Erhard's inner circle sued for wrongful discharge, several people filed supporting declarations, charging Erhard with using abusive tactics to enforce obedience. This year alone, three lawsuits—involving allegations of wrongful discharge, wrongful death and fraud—are expected to go to trial. Now, two of Erhard's daughters, Adair, 26, and Celeste, 28, have spilled their own harrowing tale of alleged physical and emotional abuse inflicted, they say, on them and their mother, Ellen.

The problem about life with father, the daughters told the Marin Independent Journal last month, was that he tended to bring his work home with him. Instead of family get-togethers, he held monthly "meetings," complete with agendas and time sheets. Sometimes he forgot their



JONATHAN BECKER—VANITY FAIR

Erhard at sea: Under an increasing barrage of allegations

names, they said, and often he threatened them. At one family meeting, the women told the paper, staff members kicked and choked Ellen after Erhard accused her of infidelity. Then, they say, he put her on a rehabilitation regimen that required her to scrub floors. "We were petrified of him," Adair told the paper. "He was," added Celeste, "a total control monster."

Erhard acknowledged, in a deposition for their divorce proceedings, slapping his wife once and said that at another time, he shook her and pushed her. He had pushed her, he said, to shake her out of what he called "an hysteria of lying." In response to his daughters' charges, Erhard issued a statement to *Newsweek*, saying: "The only adequate response is healing, which is my intention. To say anything more would only further exploit my family." Ellen Erhard has declined comment on the story because of a 1988 divorce agreement to remain silent about her ex-husband.

Erhard's drill-sergeant tactics have been controversial almost from the beginning. Amid the shocks of Vietnam and Watergate, est was an idea ripe for the times. It enjoyed a huge vogue in the '70s, enrolling well-known names like Diana Ross, Yoko

Ono and John Denver. Even some psychiatrists had good things to say about it. As est's luster dimmed, Erhard updated it with The Forum. Six years ago, he formed a management-consulting firm called Transformational Technologies that brought his ideas to corporate America as well as the Soviet Union—earning him the title "Guru to the Gulag." But just when his

enterprise seemed poised to go global, a memo leaked last year claiming Werner Erhard and Associates (WE&A) was in serious financial trouble, losing up to \$100,000 a week. The memo, written by a senior executive in one of Erhard's companies, recommended that he consider financial reorganization.

**Court date:** It was in 1988 that Charlene Afremow, one of Erhard's closest associates, filed a \$2 million wrongful-discharge suit against Erhard and WE&A, claiming she was fired when she opposed such policies as making employees work in excess of 12 hours per day and six days a week. Because trainers were overworked, she said, some of their clients suffered psychotic episodes. Erhard has called the suit "frivolous and malicious." In sworn testimony on behalf of Afremow, Michael Beard, a former Erhard aide, claimed part of his job was to massage his boss's feet every morning. He said Erhard screamed ob-

scenities at him if he didn't perform his tasks to Erhard's liking. Afremow's suit is set for trial this year. Two other suits are also headed for court, one by the family of a client, claiming he suffered a fatal heart attack during a training session, the other by a man who claims he suffered a manic episode after taking an advanced est course. In both cases, the defendants deny responsibility.

Once lionized, Erhard now finds himself embattled on all sides. This week, it was announced that major parts of his empire had been sold to a group of former employees, who chose the interim name Transnational Education Corporation. According to spokeswoman Ann Overton, they will continue to run The Forum and other programs that had been run by WE&A.

Whether that means the end of the Erhard era isn't clear. "It's all so sad," says writer George Leonard, perhaps the granddaddy of the consciousness movement and a former est participant. "If half the things they're saying are true, it's disillusioning for everyone."

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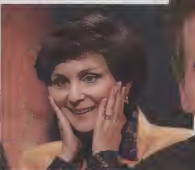
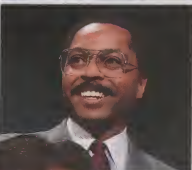
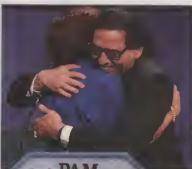
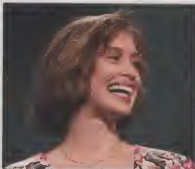
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## MEDIA

# A New Kind of Scarlet Letter

Pointing fingers in the pages of the daily paper

It is an age-old New England tradition to use the written word to uphold community standards and morals. Think of that scarlet "A" as a very short publication. Before the American Revolution, Boston pamphleteers published the names of colonists who violated the boycott on English goods. Now a newspaper in New Bedford, Mass.—a gritty port city of 100,000—has given this notion of public shaming a decidedly modern twist. And while city fathers are hailing the crusade, others are questioning both its ethics and its efficacy.

The newspaper is *The Standard-Times*, and at issue is a new feature entitled "Drug Watch." Five days a week, the paper aims to run photos of every person who shows up in district court in New Bedford on drug-related charges. The column has the look of a high-school yearbook for losers. "The idea was to try to do something to impress on the community how serious and widespread the scourge of drugs has become," says editor James Ragsdale. "I'm not so naive as to think it will end the drug problem. But if through our efforts we better comprehend the problem, we may be closer to a solution."

Since the inception of "Drug Watch" in



JILL WYMAN FOR NEWSWEEK

**Shaming: Editor Ragsdale and 'Drug Watch'**

November, *The Standard-Times* letters column and call-in line have been flooded with praise for the feature. New Bedford Police Chief Richard Benoit hails "Drug Watch" as a rare press effort that actually helps police morale. The city's mayor, John Bullard, finds himself in the unusual position of endorsing the local newspaper. "It may not be a normal feature, but then it's not a normal problem," says the mayor. "Drug Watch" is an example of the kind of intolerance we must all show."

In New Bedford of late that intolerance has been catching. One merchant told

Ragsdale that he posts the pictures in his office, presumably to help pinpoint suspicious customers. The city's Housing Authority uses "Drug Watch" to identify undesirable tenants for its 2,538 units of low-income housing. The agency has rejected prospective tenants and commenced eviction proceedings based on the newspaper photos. "We're not a criminal court so we don't need absolute proof," says Joseph Finnerty, executive director of the agency. "It's up to them to prove to us that they can be a good neighbor."

**All flash:** It is exactly that kind of pretrial presumption of guilt that many find troubling. Most newspapers try to avoid pictures of people accused of crimes, making exceptions only for major crimes. In New Bedford, however, a person charged with a minor drug offense can, between the arraignment and continuances, become a regular in the "Drug Watch" column before his case is adjudicated—each time surrounded by other alleged felons. "Drug Watch" may be protected by the First Amendment, says John Roberts, head of the state Civil Liberties Union, "but it isn't responsible journalism." Mark Jurkowitz, media critic for *The Boston Phoenix*, doesn't believe it's journalism at all. He dismisses it as public relations—the kind of flashy, no-substance effort that has characterized this nation's war on drugs.

Others scoff at the notion that "Drug Watch" deters drug activity. "If the idea of going to jail or getting AIDS isn't stopping people from using drugs," says Alan Zwirblis, chief public defender for the New Bedford court, "a picture in the newspaper sure isn't going to stop them."

Ragsdale dismisses the criticism as "folly." He has pursued more traditional journalistic avenues in covering drug problems, but nothing has approached the response to "Drug Watch." "Providing this information seems to give people a feeling of empowerment," he says. Nor does Ragsdale underestimate the power of public embarrassment. Five years ago a 19-year-old man was arrested in a drug raid. Ragsdale played the story on the front page. The headline read: EDITOR'S SON HELD ON DRUG CHARGES.

MARK STARR

## FAMILY

## Was He Really Bruno Borrowheim?

In case anyone forgets that gods often have feet of clay, Bruno Bettelheim serves as a potent reminder. The famed psychoanalyst's reputation has suffered severe blows since his death last year. The first was dealt by some former patients at Chicago's Sonia Shankman Orthogenic School for emotionally disturbed children, who accused Bettelheim of public humiliation and physical abuse. The second blow was delivered last week by Alan Dundes, an anthropologist at the Univer-

sity of California, Berkeley. Dundes accuses Bettelheim of plagiarism. He claims that in Bettelheim's 1976 book "The Uses of Enchantment: The Meaning and Importance of Fairy Tales," Bettelheim borrowed extensively from an earlier work by Stanford psychiatrist Julius E. Heuser without proper attribution. In an article in the *Journal of American Folklore*, Dundes calls the offense "not just a matter of occasional borrowings of random passages, but a

wholesale borrowing of key ideas." Ironically, Heuser refuses to characterize the similarities as anything worse than "poor technique and not very courteous." Heuser says he doesn't think the "plagiarized" ideas were all that unusual, anyway. He speculates that Bettelheim's memory of books he read might have been so good that he didn't realize he was borrowing. Says Heuser, "Some ideas become so true to you that they become your own."



# 'Colorizing' the News



The debate in Washington has as much to do with self-justification as with trying to see things clearly

**P**eople have different priorities when it comes to deciding what to save from the proverbial burning house—the cat, the jewels, some heirloom or other, the ancient family photographs. In political Washington there is no question what comes first: whatever documentary evidence may exist that you were *right* in the last argument you engaged in. You would save your position and to hell with the cat—that is the way it is.

This is not what anybody would call a particularly endearing trait, though it can be a pretty funny one to observe. Lately, however, in the context of the gulf war, it has become less funny and potentially, anyway, more menacing. We may all be too dug in, too protective of our old positions and thus our pride, to react to events honestly or even to see them clearly. I don't think this stage has yet been reached, but I sense that Washington is right at the edge of it. Administration officials, journalists and members of Congress, TV head scratchers, think-tank types and other accredited members of the kibitzing class were all terribly exposed on this one. Their positions were clear. Much of the argument among them now seems to have almost as much to do with retroactive self-justification as with trying to get an accurate reading of events.

The first form this preoccupation took was a lot of gleeful speculation, starting about week three of the war, as to whether the members of Congress who voted against giving Bush the war authority and for prolonging sanctions instead might have made a fatal political mistake. Some who had prominently voted this way seemed actually to be backing off some and putting out after-the-fact reservations, "revising and extending" their remarks as this is called in the Congressional Record. That was premature. For by week four, when the struggle seemed more intractable and talk of a ground war increased, it was the prospective political disaster of those who had supported the war that was being chewed over. A host of subarguments in the same vein were being pursued: who had been right and who wrong about the production of certain weapons that were proving efficient in the war. Should we thank Reagan for the Patriot missile and beg his pardon for even questioning his defense budget? Or were these especially efficient weapons in fact the outcome of earlier Carter administration decisions?

Certainly the debate over granting the president authority to use force was the source of most of the assertions, assumptions and predictions that people are trying to protect now. In these debates the side that wins is at a disadvantage in that it soon becomes clear whether it was

right or not. Those of us who believed the passage of the resolution could help the president to stare down Saddam Hussein were proved wrong. Now it remains to be seen whether the more dire or less dire predictions about what war itself would produce come to pass. This is the treacherous time—when great stores of honesty and detachment are called for in viewing events, so that you don't see only what you had predicted or somehow cook your own observations to uphold your point of view. In the discussion of the number of American and allied casualties so far you can hear the intrusive note of self-justification—"My, how remarkably low they have been," says one side. . . "Ah, but just wait," says the other.

**Shameless claims:** Back in the days when the West was full of "sovietologists" who had never been to the then inaccessible Soviet Union or who had fled from it in their youth, there used to be these hilarious articles of dead-wrong analyses and predictions eventually followed by absolutely shameless claims to have been *right*, even after events had totally discredited whatever the guy had written. It comes with the human territory and is not unique to Americans. But we have developed a politics in which people are forever being tempted into the most artificial, transparent justifications of their prior position. Whichever party is out of power sees only tragedy and gloom in the country under the stewardship of its opponents, tends to read all the data in the most pessimistic possible light and periodically reminds us that it told us this was going to happen.

That is more or less the situation with domestic issues. On foreign policy it is different—and worse. Over the past couple of decades *right* and *left* have been so often caught out and disproved by the way things turned out overseas that you would think they would at least be more cautious the next time around or, better yet, admit error and look for its cause. But of course you would be wrong.

In fact we have all but perfected techniques of claiming to have been right when we were most unambiguously wrong. Once people like Fidel Castro or movements like the Khmer Rouge are revealed to be what they have been all along, it will be argued that actually they started as something different and better, but that somehow stupid American actions turned them into what they became. That's on the left. On the right there continues to be turmoil over how a totalitarian complex could collapse and yield up its foreign empire when according to most holy conservative doctrine this was not possible. The answer's not completely in yet on this one, but be assured, they're still working on it. Meanwhile a certain relief can be discerned on the right that some of the worst types are reasserting themselves in Moscow and that the Baltics are being oppressed. A certain number of people probably should be asking themselves whether they'd rather save Lithuania or save their own face, just as, concerning the gulf war, people on both sides should be forcing themselves to double-check their interpretations against their predispositions, to be sure they are not—yes—wishing the vindication of disaster or inventing the rosy prospect to hide a vista of terrible bloodshed and destruction.

The country is in a war, but it still has plenty of choices to make at every step of the way. It is hard to think of any time when it would be more important to bring your clearest, most honest and unencumbered vision to the events that are unfolding. We are not on an express train to one particular outcome. Much remains to be interpreted, debated, decided. I wish we could have a moratorium on politicians' "colorizing" of the news from the gulf and a kind of cease-fire here at home on the self-vindication front. I wish we could put the egos and the I-told-you-sos in cold storage for the duration.



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